Cretomania

Modern Desires for the Minoan Past

Edited by

NICOLETTA MOMIGLIANO and ALEXANDRE FARNOUX

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies

ROUTLEDGE

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Since its rediscovery in the early 20th century, through spectacular finds such as those by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, Minoan Crete has captured the imagination not only of archaeologists but also of a wider public. This is shown, among other things, by its appearance and uses in a variety of modern cultural practices: from the innovative dances of Sergei Diaghilev and Ted Shawn, to public and vernacular architecture, psychoanalysis, literature, sculpture, fashion designs, and even neo-pagan movements, to mention a few examples.

Cretomania is the first volume entirely devoted to such modern responses to (and uses of) the Minoan past. Although not an exhaustive and systematic study of the reception of Minoan Crete, it offers a wide range of intriguing examples and represents an original contribution to a thus far underexplored aspect of Minoan studies: the remarkable effects of Minoan Crete beyond the narrow boundaries of recondite archaeological research.

The volume is organised in three main sections: the first deals with the conscious, unconscious, and coincidental allusions to Minoan Crete in modern architecture, and also discusses archaeological reconstructions; the second presents examples from the visual and performing arts (as well as other cultural practices) illustrating how Minoan Crete has been enlisted to explore and challenge questions of Orientalism, religion, sexuality, and gender relations; the third focuses on literature, and shows how the distant Minoan past has been used to interrogate critically more recent Greek history.

Nicoletta Momigliano is Reader in Aegean Prehistory at the University of Bristol, specialising in Minoan archaeology. She has directed archaeological projects in Crete and Turkey, and is the author of many articles and books, including *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the Minoans* (2006, co-edited with Yannis Hamilakis) and *Duncan*

Mackenzie: a Cautious Canny Highlander and the Palace of Minos at Knossos (1999).

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Contents

List of figures

Preface and acknowledgements

Introduction: Cretomania – desiring the Minoan past in the present

Nicoletta Momigliano

PART I CRETOMANIA AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT – CONSCIOUS, UNCONSCIOUS AND COINCIDENTAL ALLUSIONS IN MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

1 Orthochronicity and its (dis)contents: Cretomania and Frank Lloyd Wright

Donald Preziosi

2 Identity and freedom: some observations on Minoan and contemporary Greek architecture

Dimitri Philippides and Odysseas Sgouros

3 The artistic reception of Minoan Crete in the period of Art Deco: the reconstruction of the palace at Knossos … and why Arthur Evans was right

Fritz Blakolmer

PART II CRETOMANIA IN THE VISUAL AND PERFORMING ARTS, AND OTHER CULTURAL PRACTICES

4 The Minoan woman as the Oriental woman: Mariano Fortuny's Knossos scarves and Ruth St. Denis

Ilaria Caloi

5 From Russia with love: Minoan Crete and the Russian Silver Age

Nicoletta Momigliano

6 Lord of the dance: Ted Shawn's *Gnossienne* and its Minoan context

Christine Morris

7 The ocean liner *Aramis*: a voyage to the land of Minos and Art Deco

Anaïs Boucher

8 Cretomania and neo-paganism: the Great Mother Goddess and gay male identity in the Minoan Brotherhood

Bryan E. Burns

PART III CRETOMANIA IN LITERATURE – DIALOGUES WITH RHEA GALANAKI

9 Minoans and the postmodern critique of national history: two novels by Rhea Galanaki

Roderick Beaton

10 Rhea Galanaki's *The Century of Labyrinths*: a dialogue between literature and archaeology that starts with Minos Kalokairinos

Katerina Kopaka

11 Growing up next door to Knossos and 'the other Ariadne'

Rhea Galanaki

Afterword by Michael Fotiadis

List of contributors and abstracts

Index

Figures

Please note that all figures appear in a color plate section at the back of the volume.

Introduction

I.1 Elisabeth Lawton's self-published book, *The Inevitability of Matriarchy* (1977), front and back covers

I.2 Albert Vardanyan, *Pulsar* (2006), in the grounds of the Berlin Art Hotel in Gyumri, Armenia

Chapter 1 – Preziosi

1.1 Frank Lloyd Wright, G.C. Stockman House (1908), Mason City, Iowa

Chapter 2 – Philippides and Sgouros

2.1 Modern use of Minoan motifs, Crete

2.2 Nicolaos Zoumboulides, the architect's residence, Filothei suburb, Athens, 1934

2.3 Dimitri Kyriakos, Heroon, Herakleion, 1930

2.4 Panos Koulermos, University of Crete units, Herakleion, comparison with Knossos

2.5 Panos Koulermos, Research Centre of Crete, Herakleion, 1985–90

2.6 Odysseas Sgouros, municipal gym, Malia, Crete, outline based on the shape of a Minoan *kernos*, 2007

2.7 Odysseas Sgouros, house project, Mochlos, Crete, elevation, 2011

2.8 Dimitri Fatouros, Peristera 2 project, Chalkidiki with house at Chamezi insert, 1971–72

2.9 Dimitri Fatouros, house in the Markopoulo area, Attica, detail, 1991–95

2.10 Takis Zenetos, tourist development project at Plakias, Crete, 1966

2.11 Takis Zenetos, tourist development project at Agia Galini, Crete, 1966

2.12 A66 Team, Lyttos Hotel, Anissaras, Crete, detail, 1974–76

2.13 Nikos Mitsakis, Greek pavilion competition entry, Paris Exhibition, 1937

2.14 A66 Team, university campus at Rethymnon, Crete, 1981

2.15 A66 Team, New Acropolis Museum competition entry, Athens, 1991

2.16 Aristomenis and Giorgos Varoudakis, house, Agios Matthaios area, Chania, Crete, 2007–

Chapter 3 – Blakolmer

3.1 Villa Primavesi by Josef Hoffmann, Vienna, 1914

3.2 The Trojan Horse in the comic series *Questor*. Drawing by Nicola Saviori and Matteo Bassini; scenario by Jean-Luc Sala, 2011

3.3 Vase inspired by the Marine style, by Charles Catteau, 1931

3.4 ‘North Entrance Passage’ in the palace at Knossos

3.5 ‘South Propylaeum’ in the palace at Knossos

3.6 ‘Hall of the Colonnades’ in the palace at Knossos, drawing by Th. Fyfe

3.7 North façade of Xeste 2, Akrotiri, Thera

3.8 Reconstruction drawing of the ‘Queens’s Megaron’ in the palace at Knossos

3.9 Stomion of ‘Tsountas tomb 53’ at Mycenae

3.10 Plaster casts of stucco relief fragments of the ‘Lily Prince’ from Knossos

3.11 ‘Throne-room complex’ in the palace at Knossos

3.12 ‘Queen’s Megaron’ in the palace at Knossos, reconstruction drawing by Camillo Praschniker, 1921

3.13 Northern area of the palace at Phaistos, reconstruction drawing by Fausto Franco, 1932

3.14 Reconstruction of the palace at Knossos after Allan Klynne, 1998

Chapter 4 – Caloi

4.1 The 1906 premiere of the Fortuny Knossos scarves, at the private theatre of the Comtesse Martine de Béarn, Paris

4.2 Exhibition of the Fortuny Knossos scarves at the Fortuny Museum

Chapter 5 – Momigliano

5.1A-detail L. Bakst, *Terror Antiquus* (1908) (Appendix no. 1)

5.1B L. Bakst, Knossos Town Mosaic faience plaques, from 1907 sketchbook

5.2 L. Bakst, illustration for magazine *Apollon,* 1909 (Appendix no. 2)

5.3A L. Bakst, *Narcisse* (1911), costume design for Baccant (Appendix no. 3)

5.3B-D Knossian fresco and vases decorated with lilies and braided foliage

5.4A L. Bakst, *Narcisse* (1911), costume design for one nymph (Appendix no. 4)

5.4B Detail of postcard showing costume from *Narcisse,* exhibited in *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballets Russes,* Victoria and Albert Museum, London

5.4C Knossos Town Mosaic plaque

5.4D Ayia Triada, 'Cat Stalking a Pheasant' fresco

5.5 L. Bakst, *Narcisse* (1911), costume design for Echo (Appendix no. 5)

5.6 L. Bakst, set design for *Hélène de Sparte* (1912)

5.7A L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume design for the character of Menelaus (Appendix no. 7)

5.7B–D Late Minoan pottery

5.8 L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume design for male character (Appendix no. 8)

5.9 L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume design for Pollux (Appendix no. 9)

5.10A L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume for Ida Rubinstein as Helen (Appendix no. 10)

5.10B L. Bakst, 1907 New York sketchbook

5.10C Minoan or Minoanising jug from Phylakopi on Melos

5.10D Minoan-Mycenaean sacral-ivy motifs

5.10E Crocus-motif on faience robes from the Knossos Temple Repositories

5.11A L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume design for Electra (Appendix no. 11)

5.11B Ceramic vase from Knossos

5.12A L. Bakst, *L'Apresèmidi d'un Faune* (1912), costume design for nymph (Appendix no. 12)

5.12B Minoan pottery decorated with spirals and wavy lines from Palaikastro (Appendix no. 12)

5.13A L. Bakst, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1912), costume design for nymph (Appendix no. 13)

5.13B–C Examples of Minoan pottery with comparable spiraliform motifs

5.14 L. Bakst, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1912), Vaslav Nijinsky as the Faune (Appendix no. 14)

5.15A Nymphs and Nijinsky in *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (Appendix no. 15)

5.15B Knossos, detail of *Sacred Grove* fresco

5.16 L. Bakst, *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912), costume design for Darkon (Appendix no. 16)

5.17 L. Bakst, *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912), costume design for a shepherd (Appendix no. 17)

5.18 L. Bakst, *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912), costume design for a young brigand (Appendix no. 18)

5.19 L. Bakst, set design for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 21)

5.20 L. Bakst, set design for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 22)

5.21 L. Bakst, set design for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 25)

5.22 L. Bakst, set design for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 26)

5.23A L. Bakst, costume design for Ida Rubinstein in the title role of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 28)

5.23B–C Minoan motif from Bakst's Cretan sketchbook (Appendix no. 28)

5.24A L. Bakst, costume design for female character in *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 29)

5.24B Reconstructed fresco from Tiryns (Appendix no. 29)

5.25 L. Bakst, costume for female character in *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 30)

5.26 L. Bakst, *Phèdre* (1923), costume design for male character (Appendix no. 32)

5.27 L. Bakst, *Phèdre* (1923), costume design for female character (Appendix no. 33)

5.28 L. Bakst, *Phèdre* (1923), costume designs for old woman

and Theseus (Appendix no. 34)

5.29 L. Bakst, *Phèdre* (1923), costume design for male character (Appendix no. 35)

5.30A L. Bakst, *Phèdre,* design for set props (Appendix no. 36)

5.30B Detail of the Ayia Triada sarcophagus

5.31 L. Bakst, modern garments designed for Paquin (Appendix no. 37)

Chapter 6 – Morris

6.1 Ted Shawn in *Gnossienne,* old postcard in the possession of the author

6.2 Ruth St. Denis in *The Incense*

6.3 Ted Shawn and Ruth St. Denis in *Egyptian Ballet*

6.4 'The Cupbearer', Knossos

6.5 Ted Shawn in *Gnossienne,* wearing a slightly different version of the costume

6.6 Ted Shawn's costume for *Gnossienne*

Chapter 7 – Boucher

7.1 The ocean liner *Aramis* (MM 1932–1942) on the Saigon River. Indochina Air Force - 2nd Squadron, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 003

7.2 The first-class music room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1)

7.3 'The Horns of Consecration' and 'The White Column' shown in a drawing by Mathurin Méheut, 1932, letter

from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. LM 625

7.4 The grand staircase of the first-class dining room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (2)

7.5 The first-class dining room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1)

7.6 The first-class lobby, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1)

7.7 The first-class music room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1)

7.8 The silk damask which covered the chairs in the first-class music room, Truchot silk manufacturers, Prelle archives, Truchot archives, pattern book, pattern JT 6336

7.9 The first-class children's playroom, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (2)

7.10 The first-class swimming pool on board the ocean liner *Aramis,* black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1)

7.11 The second-class dining room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (2)

7.12 The second-class music room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (2)

7.13 The silk damask which covered the chairs in the second-class music room, Truchot silk manufacturers, Prelle archives, Truchot archives, pattern book, pattern JT 6335

7.14 Yvonne Jean-Haffen sketching *The Prince of the Lilies* at

the Candia Museum, drawing by Mathurin Méheut, 1932, letter from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. LM 623

7.15 *The Prince of the Lilies,* Yvonne Jean-Haffen, fresco on coated wood, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. HC. 74

7.16 Sketch for frieze on the *Aramis* 1, Yvonne Jean-Haffen, watercolour on paper, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, MA. 2

7.17 Sketch for frieze on the *Aramis* 2, Yvonne Jean-Haffen, watercolour on paper, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, MA. 3

7.18 Sketch for frieze on the *Aramis* 3, Yvonne Jean-Haffen, watercolour on paper, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, MA. 4

7.19 Yvonne Jean-Haffen working on the frieze *Undercolour Landscapes* for the swimming pool of the *Aramis,* drawing by Mathurin Méheut, 1932, letter from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, coll. Musee Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, Dinan, inv. LM 16 B

7.20 Design for the swimming pool of the *Aramis,* Yvonne Jean-Haffen, watercolour on paper, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. MA. 681

7.21 *The Hunt* fresco in Méheut's studio in Paris, drawing by Mathurin Méheut, 1932, letter from Mathurin Méheut

to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. LM 11 B

7.22 Reproduction of *Wild Duck Hunt* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photograph, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe

7.23 Reproduction of *Flying Fish* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photograph, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe

7.24A–C Reproduction of *The Hunt* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe

7.25A–C Reproduction of *The Bull Fighters* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe

7.26A–B Reproduction of *The Olive Harvest* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe

7.27A–B Reproduction of *Cretan Women* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe

7.28A–B Reproduction of *The Deer Dancers* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe

Chapter 8 – Burns

8.1 'Boy-God adoring Goddess'

8.2 The 'Young Minotaur'

Preface and acknowledgements

This volume is the first to emerge from a series of international colloquia organised by the École française d'Athènes in collaboration with the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition (IGRCT, University of Bristol) and the British School at Athens. This series has the general title of MANIA (Mouvement d'art néo et influence archéologique) and examines the reception of archaeological discoveries and ancient material culture (Minoan, Greek, Byzantine, etc.) among modern and contemporary arts as well as other cultural practices.

Although reception studies are long-established in the study of literature (particularly in comparative literature), the same cannot be said with regard to the history of art and archaeology, where the useful but limited concept of influence still largely holds sway. Hellenism – which the École française d'Athènes has explored in all its aspects since 1846 – has provided European artists with the remains of a prestigious and much-valued material culture. In different countries and ages, these remains have provoked different responses, from passionate admiration to rejection. We now have a relatively clear understanding of the long, slow transmission and gradual reception of the great literary and philosophical texts as well as their impact on European literature since the Renaissance, and even before. Much less secure, however, is our understanding of the effects of archaeological discoveries, which are often by nature sudden and unexpected. Nevertheless, the artistic 'fortune' of Hellenism, constantly transformed by these new discoveries, appears to be particularly rich. On the one hand, archaeological discoveries have provoked many questions and passionate debates in artistic circles: thus, modern responses to Antiquity have affected all artistic domains and merit our careful consideration. On the other hand, modern aesthetics, which also vary according to country and era, have informed the understanding and reception of materials emerging from excavations. It is this encounter between past and present, this

mutual exchange and its artistic, cultural and political issues, which the MANIA programme seeks to explore.

The more specific objectives of these colloquia are multiple: to analyse the historical and intellectual context of the reception of Greek material culture from various periods; to measure how the incorporation of past Greek remains into modern works of art and other cultural practices (from architecture to dance and cinema) has provoked (or not) different 'manias', and may have contributed, in turn, to new interpretations of the past; and to provide, as far as possible, a critical comparison of national reception traditions, which have made responses to the Greek past political issues debated in the present.

Cretomania was our first colloquium in this 'mania' series, and the fruit of a new French-British collaboration – another *entente cordiale* much enjoyed by both parties. This event was held on 23 and 24 November 2013 at the École française d'Athènes, and was a highly successful, friendly and auspicious occasion. But it was also marked by a double loss: the passing away of Veit Stürmer (1957–2013) and Stylianos Alexiou (1921–2013). The former, a faithful German colleague who was a member of the École française and a devoted 'Maliot', was due to present an important paper on the Gilliérons, but he died suddenly on the boat from Crete on which he was travelling to take part in our colloquium. The latter was a tutelary figure of Cretan studies, whose expertise covered the entire history of the island from Minoan times to the present. We dedicate this volume to their memory.

Cretomania would not have been possible without the help of various institutions and individuals, and it is a great pleasure to express here our deep gratitude to our sponsors and other people who offered their help: members of staff in the École française d'Athènes (especially Joulien Fournier and Sophia Zoumboulaki); the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition (IGRCT) of the University of Bristol; and Prof. Cathy Morgan, the Director of the British School at Athens, and other members of staff (especially Tania Gerousi).

For chairing sessions (including the showing of the 'docudrama' *Atlantis: End of a World, Birth of a Legend*) and for their comments on various papers, we thank Gerald Cadogan, Ilaria Caloi, Michael Fotiadis, Katerina Kopaka, Colin Macdonald, Pietro Militello, Clairy Palyvou and Iris Tzachilis. Lucile Arnoux-Farnoux kindly read the Greek version presented by Beaton at the colloquium in his (unexpected) absence. Jessica Priestly (IGRCT, University of Bristol) provided invaluable help with proofreading and other tasks connected with this volume. Anne Leaver (Technical Illustrator, University of Bristol) helped with the digital illustrations. We also thank Roderick Beaton, Hayley Wood and Don Evely for their translations.

Alexandre Farnoux
Nicoletta Momigliano

Introduction: Cretomania – desiring the Minoan past in the present

Nicoletta Momigliano

> L'art crétois, mycénien, et toute leur décoration, révélée aux ateliers, vinrent bouleverser l'art viennois, animer l'art official munichois de 1905, puis les premiers peintres qui travaillèrent pour Diaghilev … Cette "crétomanie" devait durer jusqu'en 1914.
>
> (Morand 2011 [1960–61])

> Le passé n'éclairant plus l'avenir, l'esprit marche dans les ténèbres.
>
> (de Tocqueville 1840, Quatrième partie, Chapitre VIII)

> To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger … The danger affects both the content of the tradition and its receivers. The same threat hangs over both: that of becoming a tool of the ruling classes. In every era the attempt must be made anew to wrest tradition away from a conformism that is about to overpower it … Only that historian will have the gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past who is firmly convinced that *even the dead* will not be safe from the enemy if he wins. And this enemy has not ceased to be victorious.
>
> A historical materialist approaches a historical subject only where he encounters it as a monad. In this structure he recognizes the sign of … a revolutionary chance in the fight for the oppressed past. He takes cognizance of it in order to blast a specific era out of the homogeneous course of history – blasting a specific life out of the era or a specific work out of the lifework.

(Benjamin 1999 [1955], Theses on the Philosophy of History VI and XVII)

This volume on *Cretomania* illustrates some examples of modern responses to the material culture of Minoan Crete. In other words, it focuses on the enthusiasm and desire for what we now call the Minoan past – enthusiasm and desire that are often manifested in the allusion to and citation of fragments from this past in various cultural practices, from literature to painting, and from architecture to religious movements. As noted by Sylvie Humbert-Mougin, the term 'Cretomania' itself, in its French version 'crétomanie', was first used by the renowned author Paul Morand in a 1960 article on Crete published in the *Revue des Voyages*, which described this particular mania for things Minoan among Viennese artists and Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, especially in the period of the Belle Époque.[1]

The use of allusions to and quotations from the past in the works of modern authors and artists, and the continuous dialogue and negotiation between past and present, are, to a large extent, fundamental and essential elements in every history of scholarship and in reception studies. In the field of Minoan studies, there has been considerable previous work on the history of Minoan scholarship and, to a much lesser extent, on Minoan reception (and this volume continues a dialogue started by such work).[2] This, however, is the first publication entirely devoted to modern responses to the material culture of Minoan Crete.

Although reception theory and reception histories have now been flourishing in many fields during the last few decades,[3] archaeology appears to have shown more reluctance to adopt this kind of approach. This is, perhaps, partly because, as Martin Bernal once remarked:

> Twentieth-century archaeology has been bedevilled by [what] I shall call 'archaeological positivism'. It is the fallacy that dealing with 'objects' makes one 'objective': the belief that interpretations of

> archaeological evidence are as solid as the archaeological finds themselves.[4]

The solid materiality of the Minoan past is, of course, undeniable. Nevertheless, just as the Athenian Acropolis, for example, 'is a cultural product not only of the fifth century BC, but of millennia',[5] so the Minoan past is not merely what happened in Crete in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC (i.e. in what has become the canonical chronology of the 'Minoan Age'),[6] but also the product of centuries of scholarship, including reconstructions, and of responses to this past steeped in various interpretative traditions, some of which are not merely related to archaeology and its practice. In addition, and to paraphrase Jauss, the real significance and legacy of the Minoan past have arguably been determined to a large extent by the chain of interpretations and receptions of Minoan material culture.[7] Whether it is the 'palace-temple' of Knossos,[8] the famous 'snake-goddess', the 'Taureador/Bull leaping' or the 'Prince of Lilies' frescoes, these objects are nowadays no longer products only of 2nd-millennium BC Crete, but they are experienced in the present, and have acquired multiple layers of meanings since their rediscovery in the early 20th century – in no small part also thanks to their association with famous later Greek myths (such as Theseus and the Minotaur), the bane and blessing of Aegean Bronze Age archaeology. While the structures and objects essentially remain the same,[9] their symbolism and significance have continued to change within the present, because they continue to exist and are experienced in the present: Knossos has become a Cretan 'Acropolis'; the 'snake goddess', which for Evans signified the Great Minoan Mother Goddess and a precursor of the Christian Virgin Mary, for others reflected both the 'antiquity' and 'modernity' of Minoan culture, its Oriental and alluring nature, full of sexual promises, its feminine, matriarchal character and the possibility for a better life, especially for women (cf. various chapters in this volume and Figure I.1).

Thus, if Minoan Crete continues to fascinate and matter to us, it is not simply because of the peculiarities of its remarkable material culture, but largely because of the individual responses to it: writers, architects, politicians, and artists, as well as archaeologists and historians, give it new meanings and new importance in their own present. This, as Donald Preziosi reminds us in his contribution to this volume, recalls Walter Benjamin's ideas about snatching something from the past for its revolutionary potential to change the present. Or, to use Hannah Arendt's words, Benjamin's use of quotations represented a new way of dealing with the past, emerging not from his despair about a past that, in Tocqueville's terms, no longer threw light upon the future, but 'out of the despair of the present and the desire to destroy it'.[10]

The revolutionary function of the past in its continuous and multitemporal dialogue with the present is also closely reminiscent of T.S. Eliot's affirmation that 'no poet, no artist of any art has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of the dead poets and artists'; it also echoes Eliot's idea that the poet or artist of any art

> is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past, unless he is conscious not of what is dead, but of what is already living.[11]

This realisation of the Minoan past's revolutionary potential, in a broad sense, is amply illustrated in many chapters collected in this volume, which has been divided into three parts.

In Part 1 ('Cretomania and the built environment – conscious, unconscious, and coincidental allusions in modern architecture and reconstructions'), the chapters by Preziosi, Philippides and Sgouros, and Blakolmer focus on how Minoan architecture and its reconstructions interacted with the work of modern architects and artists who followed modernist trends to revolutionise their present. They also underline how responses and allusions to the Minoan world changed considerably

between the two world wars: before 1914, the aesthetics of Art Nouveau clearly influenced contemporary responses to Minoan Crete and paved the way to its favourable reception, whereas after World War I, it is Minoan material culture that influences more clearly certain productions of Art Déco.[12] Most importantly, these chapters bring to the forefront a number of methodological questions concerning the nature of Minoan citations and the history of the transmission of Minoan imagery (cf. also below, pp. 7–8).

In Part 2 ('Cretomania in the visual and performing arts, and in other cultural practices'), the chapters by Caloi, Momigliano, Morris, Boucher, and Burns deal with various ways in which Minoan material culture has been enlisted to explore and challenge questions of Orientalism, religion, sexuality, and gender relations. In particular, the themes investigated by these chapters include the dominance of females in modern dance, and the human body as an expression of identity as well as a vehicle for the transcendent, in opposition to attitudes that mortify the flesh and stress the dichotomy between body and spirit.[13] In addition, these chapters show how the first-hand encounter with Minoan Crete by artists such as Léon Bakst, Mathurin Méheut, and Yvonne Jean-Haffen influenced their trajectory towards new artistic trends and revolutionary creations; in the case of Bakst, more specifically, the Minoan past helped to enrich his palette and enhanced his appreciation of the human body in movement, while, at the same time, Bakst's own appreciation of the Minoan past gave it a new significance in the context of Early Modernism.[14]

Finally, the chapters by Beaton, Kopaka, and Galanaki in Part 3 ('Cretomania in literature – dialogues with Rhea Galanaki') illustrate how the distant Minoan past is used to interrogate critically more recent Greek history: in Galanaki's own words, 'a period that we think of conventionally as "remote" can still lay its touch upon our present, can even lead us to new narratives about the past' (μια εποχή που σχηματικά ονομάζονμε 'μακρινή', μπορεί να αγγίξει το παρόν μας, μπορεί επιπλέον να μας οδηγήσει σε καινούριες

αφηγήσεις για το παρελθόν). These chapters, in particular, show how the Minoan past has been crucial in the creation of a unique modern Cretan identity,[15] how it has been incorporated in broader Mediterranean narratives, and how it has become part of challenges to current hegemonic historical narratives that try to erase non-Greek heritages (especially the Ottoman) from the long continuum of Greek history.

Like the Cretan Bronze Age and the history of its archaeological interpretations, modern receptions of the Minoan past can be the subject of historical and historicising approaches. Indeed, the aims of this volume include situating the various responses to this ancient material culture in their historical and intellectual background, and comparing, whenever possible, national and transnational traditions. As already mentioned, the various responses to Minoan material culture illustrated here show the conscious, and sometimes unconscious, projecting onto the Minoan past of specific contemporary anxieties and concerns. In particular, the rediscovery of Minoan Crete and the 'first Cretomania'[16] coincided with the Belle Époque and the artistic movement often referred to as Art Nouveau. This and other related modernist movements have often been represented as a radical rupture from the past (and especially from the classical and classicising heritages), but in fact can be seen to represent a more self-conscious revision and use of the past to confront various issues, such as the emergence of a post-Christian and more materialistic society, sexuality and the woman question, the tension between rational (Apollonian) and irrational (Dionysian) impulses, and more broadly the legacy of Enlightenment's rationalism.[17] After World War I, the Minoan past continued to be redeployed for exploring these modern concerns, but it also became an important arena for delving into the human desires for both war and peace.[18] Seemingly idyllic representations of the Minoan world (such as the 'Saffron Gatherer', 'Grand Stand', and 'Sacred Grove' frescoes) and refined features in the architecture of the Minoan palaces (such as the presence of light-wells, toilets, and drains) could be

conjured up to create an image of Minoan Crete as a lost paradise, a primeval and, at the same time, advanced peaceful civilisation – an image that a Western world, scarred by the recent conflict, was eager to embrace.[19] Late 19th- and early 20th-century utopian theories, such as those developed by William Morris in his 1890 *News from Nowhere*, also contributed to the creation of this Minoan never-never land.

And yet, and as we hope will be clear from what has been discussed so far, this historicising approach should not be seen as an end in itself and as an exercise in filling up a neat, chronologically linear narrative – let alone an exercise in removing anachronistic layers or accretions of interpretations in an attempt to reveal the past 'the way it really was'. The aim, instead, is to bring more reflexivity, more consciousness of the factors that contribute to interpretations of and responses to the Minoan past, including our own. In doing so, our goal is to offer a contribution to the history of ideas about Minoan Crete and new challenges to the present. As Elisabeth Prettejohn has eloquently written about the Venus de Milo, 'Each of the receptions of the Venus is "subjective", yet each is also a response *to* the object … each reception potentially has something to tell us about the Venus as well as something about the subjective perception of the receiver'.[20] *Mutatis mutandis*, each response to the Minoan past can be seen as subjective and historically contingent, but these responses are not entirely arbitrary: they all relate to specific features of Minoan culture, whether it is the exposed breasts in female imagery, the slim wasp-waisted representations of the human body, or the downward tapering Minoan columns; and we can potentially learn something from all of them. Take, for example, the responses to what have been perceived as androgynous, sexually ambiguous human representations in Minoan frescoes by Dmitri Merezhkovsky in the early 20th century and by members of the Minoan Brotherhood in the early 21st century (cf. the chapters by Momigliano and Burns). These can be historicised and evaluated in their own terms, but they can also be linked and compared to help us to reflect more

generally upon some established assumptions regarding representations of sex and gender, and how these are employed to extrapolate broad generalisations about the organisation of society and gender relations.

Some responses to the Minoan past presented in this volume also remind us vividly of their political dimensions, especially if we compare them to some recent articles in the Greek press, which have stressed the 'European' character of the Minoans (against an alleged African origin) and their close links to the modern population of Lassithi.[21] These articles were, in turn, reporting on a paper on DNA analyses of modern and ancient Cretan populations published in *Nature Communications* in May 2013.[22] In this paper, the authors claimed that they had 'finally' proved that Sir Arthur Evans was wrong – the origins of Minoan civilisation had nothing to do with Africa, because DNA analyses demonstrated that

> The Minoans show the strongest relationships with Neolithic and modern European populations and with the modern inhabitants of the Lassithi plateau. Our data are compatible with the hypothesis of an autochthonous development of the Minoan civilization by the descendants of the Neolithic settlers of the island.

This article is problematic for many reasons: to mention a few, it creates a 'straw man' argument by conveniently forgetting that nowadays nobody really takes Evans's African origins seriously and by de-contextualising, oversimplifying, and misrepresenting Evans's ideas on Minoan Crete (especially his belief in its fundamentally 'European' character); it skims over the fact that the Neolithic ancestors of the Minoans most likely came from the Near East, and that their own ancestors, in turn, ultimately came from Africa (in the Palaeolithic period); it forgets that 'European' and 'Minoans' are modern cultural constructs; finally, and most importantly, at this particular moment in the history of Greece, with attacks on migrants and ethnic minorities (and a European crisis to boot!), one may well

ask whether this kind of use of the Minoan past, with its stress on the connection between DNA and culture, on the links between Crete and 'Europe' but not Africa and the Near East (recalling early 20th-century Eurocentric and racist discourses), is rather naïve or deliberately playing on current political and racial tensions.

Some readers may also recall an earlier case connecting the Minoans and racial questions that involved two Greek archaeologists working on Crete: Metaxia Tsipopoulou and Kostas Christakis.[23] During the 2009 public launch of a book by Christakis on Minoan Crete, which took place in Herakleion, Tsipopoulou and Christakis mentioned that the Minoans were not Greeks, in the sense that they did not speak a Greek language and were people of oriental origins, being largely descended from the Neolithic people, who migrated to the island from the Fertile Crescent (i.e. southern Anatolia and the Levant). This created an uproar at the time, and even led to a parliamentary question: two ministers (from parties situated at the opposite ends of the political spectrum) demanded clarifications concerning the Ministry of Culture's official view on the ethnicity of the Minoans, and there were lively exchanges in various Greek blogs and in the press, some clearly of an anti-Semitic character.[24]

These episodes remind us, once again, of the significance that the Minoans may acquire beyond narrow academic archaeological circles, of the politics of the past, and how these rest on the complex history of their reception and on the production of knowledge about their past. In other words, these current controversies about the supposed European and Hellenic character of the Minoans are embedded in specific contemporary circumstances, but they are also part of a chain of interpretations and receptions of the Minoan material culture, which started in the early 20th century and have roots in even earlier Eurocentric and racist interpretative traditions, as some of the chapters in this volume illustrate.[25]

Some form of incorporation of the Minoans into the history of Greece is perhaps inevitable,[26] but there are different ways in which this can take shape, and they represent choices with political and ethical implications. One way is what one might call the 'Hellenisation' of the Minoans – the reluctance to accept that Greek history may embrace something that is not 'Greek' unless it is somehow 'Hellenised'.[27] Another is what one might call the 'Minoanisation' of the Hellenes – the recognition of the notion that what one may call Greek culture is so interesting and rich precisely because of its multi-racial and multicultural heritage over many millennia, and not the result of some essentialist notion of Greek-ness, of culture as a product of race or DNA, that must be projected back as far as possible into the past.

In addition to the 'revolutionary' potential and the political dimension of modern responses to the Minoans, this volume also raises more specific questions concerning the nature of Minoan citations or allusions, and the history of the transmission of Minoan material culture, which recall debates on allusions, citations, influence, plagiarism, and intertextuality that have bedevilled scholars working on literary subjects for decades, if not centuries.[28]

The processes and the means by which writers and artists have encountered Minoan Crete can vary considerably, and these may have affected what they chose to quote, especially in view of the relatively limited 'canon' of Minoan images that seem to have been redeployed, whether they were authentic or reconstructed. In some cases (e.g. Léon Bakst, Mathurin Méheut, and Yvonne Jean-Haffen), the encounter with Minoan material culture was direct, but in others (e.g. Fortuny), it was mediated through publications. And while the crucial role of Evans's publications in the diffusion of things Minoan to the general public should never be underestimated, some chapters in this volume indicate that the work of other scholars deserves further scrutiny and recognition (e.g. Minos Kalokairinos, Salomon Reinach, Edmond Pottier, and Christian Zervos). This becomes particularly obvious when one takes into account that

Evans did not start his Cretan work from a *tabula rasa* (see, e.g., Kopaka's chapter); that in the early 20th century, Paris was the main cultural capital in the world; and that French, rather than English, was the *langue de culture*. Indeed, one could argue that Paris was, in this period, the Minoan capital par excellence, given its crucial role in the reception of Minoan Crete and its diffusion to wide audiences.[29]

Chapters in this volume also grapple with the basic methodological question of how we can detect 'Cretomania' in modern texts, objects, images, and other media, and they illustrate several different approaches. In some cases, the focus is on citations and allusions to Minoan Crete that are obvious, easily recognisable, and can be backed up by explicit statements by artists and writers (e.g. in the chapters by Boucher, Caloi, and Momigliano). Some influences and citations, however, are not immediately apparent, even if they are the result of direct, conscious involvement with Minoan material culture, as recognised by the artists themselves (see examples in the chapters by Blakolmer and by Philippides and Sgouros).[30] In some instances, it is debatable as to whether there was a Minoan influence at all as opposed to other sources, which happen to share generic iconographic or architectural similarities with Bronze Age Crete; in other cases, the supposed Minoan influences may well be entirely unconscious; and, finally, some may even be modern fabrications (e.g. the case of Frank Lloyd Wright, as argued in Preziosi's chapter), even if these are based on perceptive observations about broad correspondences that, some would argue, can still tell us something about Minoan Crete.

To conclude, this volume obviously cannot be (and does not aim to be) an exhaustive and systematic study of the reception of Minoan Crete in modern cultural practices – this would be an impossible task, or a task that would require decades of research, even if one focused only on the 20th century, so numerous are the writers, artists, and their works. We are only too aware that our volume does not include discussions of fascinating local Cretan artists, such as Florentini Kaloutsi and

her involvement with the Arts and Crafts movement,[31] Roussetos Panagiotakis,[32] Antones Markakes,[33] or the recent (2013) theatrical production for children entitled *Theseus and Ariadne in the Island of the Bulls* (*Θησέας και Αριάδνη στο Νησί των Ταύρων*) by Stratis Paschalis, with choreography by Sophia Spyratou, and very Minoan sets and costumes by Manolis Pantelidakis.[34] Other interesting 'Minoanising' works that we have not been able to include here are the cartoon series *Age of Bronze* by the well-known American artist Eric Shanower, or *La Galère d'Obélix* (English title: *Asterix and Obelix All at Sea*) in the famous *Asterix* series of René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo. Nor could we discuss the British BBC family entertainment fantasy drama series *Atlantis* (2013–) and the 2006 sculpture *Pulsar* by Albert Vardanyan, now in the grounds of the Berlin Art Hotel in Gyumri, Armenia (Figure I.2), with its citation of the Phaistos disk – one never knows where works alluding to Minoan Crete may turn up! As mentioned in our preface, the replicas created by the Gilliérons, which contributed to 'Cretomania' in no small measure, represented one crucial aspect that we had planned to include, but sadly is missing, since it was the subject dealt with by our late colleague Veit Stürmer. Despite its many gaps, we hope that this volume will offer an original contribution to what has remained, so far, an under-explored aspect of Minoan studies. We also hope it will stimulate more broadly some reflection on the scope, significance, and practice of Aegean Bronze Age archaeology, and offer some intriguing examples of the reception of its material culture.

Notes

1 See Humbert-Mougin 2006, p. 205. The terms Cretomania/crétomanie are modelled on the much older 'Egyptomania', which can be traced back to Sir John Soane's use of the phrase 'Egyptian mania' to describe the craze for things Egyptian in the visual and decorative arts occurring in the early 19th century, after Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt, and the subsequent British intervention and involvement in the region (see Curran 1996, p. 79).

2 For example, Farnoux 1993, 1996; Cherry *et al.* 2005; Darcque *et al.* 2006; Hamilakis & Momigliano 2006; and Boucher & Darcque 2014.

3 See, e.g., Martindale 2006, pp. 1–2, on reception studies as one of the fastest-growing subject areas in the UK.

4 Bernal 1987, p. 9. There are signs, however, that matters are changing: for example, at the 2006 International Cretological Congress, there were only two papers devoted to the history of Minoan scholarship (out of well over 200 papers in the prehistoric section alone), whereas in 2011, there were two entire sessions devoted to these subjects in the prehistoric section, which also included papers specifically on modern receptions of the Minoans.

5 Yalouri 2001, p. 112.

6 Note, however, that in the middle of the 19th century the phrase 'Minoan Age' referred to a shorter period in the 2nd millennium BC: see Karadimas & Momigliano 2004.

7 Jauss 1982, p. 20.

8 On Knossos as palace, temple, or 'palace-temple', see Schoep 2010, with further bibliography.

9 For example, reconstructions of Knossos or Knossian frescoes may vary considerably, but the actual pieces that make them up have largely remained the same.

10 Arendt 1968, part III ('The Pearl Diver').

11 Eliot 1919, p. 55 and p. 73. For germane concepts on the relationship past/present and multi-temporalities (i.e. the presence of the past in the present, and of the present in the past), but within a more specific archaeological discourse, see Olivier 2003, especially pp. 209–212. See also Hamilakis 2013, pp. 119–124.

12 See also Farnoux 1996, stressing the importance not only of Art Nouveau, but also of the Arts and Crafts movement.

13 On contemporary modernist explorations of *Körpferkultur*, largely as a reaction against restrictive 19th-century mortification of the body, see, e.g., Jones 2013, p. 1, and especially pp. 75–76, with further references.

14 On 'Early Modernism', see Butler 1994.

15 On the Minoan past and the creation of a unique modern Cretan identity, and its 'ambivalent incorporation' in Greek identity discourses, see also Hamilakis 2006.

16 See Blakolmer, Chapter 3 of this volume.

17 On Early Modernism not as a rupture with the past but a more self-conscious use of the past to change the present, see, e.g., Prettejohn 2012, pp. 1–6, 172–181; Jones 2013, p. 228; see also Momigliano, Chapter 5 in this volume.

18 Gere 2009. See also Treuil 2006.

19 Farnoux 1993, pp. 120–121; Treuil 2006.

20 Prettejohn 2006, p. 245; 2012, pp. 89–90. See also Momigliano, Chapter 5 in this volume.

21 See, e.g., the article in *TO BHMA* of 14 May 2013 at http://www.tovima.gr/science/medicine-biology/article/?aid=512580; also

available at http://www.cretalive.gr/culture/view/apogonoi-twn-minwitwn-oi-shmerinoi-krhtes/82173 (consulted on 20 November 2013 and 24 June 2014).

22 Hughey *et al.* 2013.

23 I thank Tsipopoulou and Christakis for sharing their reminiscences of this sad episode, for permission to mention it, and for providing some relevant documentation.

24 See, e.g., articles entitled "Οι Κρήτες είναι Ελληνες ή Σημίτες;" in *Patris*, 30 June 2009 (http://www.patris.gr/articles/159974/#.U60joqj9rKk) and "Ελληνες οι Μινωίτες ή Εβραίοι;" in *Patris*, 23 June 2009 (http://www.patris.gr/articles/159543#.U60ksqj9rKk); see also "Παρουσίασαν τους Μινωίτες ως ... Εβραίους!" at http://www.thermopilai.org/content/parousiasan-tous-minoites-os ... -ebraious (all consulted in November 2013 and June 2014). A simple Google search for Μινωίτες+ Εβραίοι will lead to many other blogs and articles on this contentious topic. Because of this public debate, Tsipopoulou and Christakis (the latter and his family in particular) were subjected not only to verbal and written abuse, but also to actual threats of physical violence.

25 On colonialist end Eurocentric interpretative traditions regarding Minoan Crete, see also Hamilakis 2002; Momigliano 2002; Hamilakis & Momigliano 2006.

26 On the incorporation of Crete in Greek discourses, cf. above and note 15.

27 On the 'Hellenisation' of the Minoan past, see Beaton 2006, 2008; Simandiraki 2006.

28 Only a few examples will be mentioned here: Ricks 1976; Lonsdale 1979; Kristeva 1986 (1966).

29 See Momigliano 2014 and Chapter 5 in this volume.

30 See also Blakolmer 2006.

31 Mitsotaki 1999; Greensted 2010.

32 http://www.roussetos-art.gr/

33 Hamilakis 2006.

34 See http://entertainment.in.gr/html/ent/196/ent.137196.asp (last consulted on 16 June 2014).

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PART I

Cretomania and the built environment – conscious, unconscious and coincidental allusions in modern architecture and reconstructions

Chapter 1

Orthochronicity and its (dis)contents: Cretomania and Frank Lloyd Wright

Donald Preziosi

Although I will be addressing aspects of the appropriation of reconstructed and projected features of Bronze Age Cretan buildings and designs beginning in the first decade of the 20th century by modern and contemporary artists, designers, architects, and archaeologists, my chief concern here is with the deeper assumptions that have underlain and continue to frame the very subject of 'Cretomania', not to speak of Minoan archaeology itself. Historically, the term itself is, of course, an analogue of the older, more familiar, and very well investigated 'Egyptomania' that swept Europe in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, in connection with Napoleonic and subsequent European interventions in early modern Egypt.

In English, the term is, in fact, already attested in modern times – not in archaeological or art historical contexts, but in medicine, where 'cretomania' refers to excessive male lust or satyriasis,[1] which I suspect is not quite what the organizers of our workshop in Athens had in mind – however intriguing or entertaining such a discussion might have become. It would not be too mysterious for anyone familiar with Greek mythology to imagine how such a clinical meaning for that term might have arisen.

We were brought together in Athens to engage with aspects of this fabricated modern pathology: this passion for, or obsession with, artifacts and phenomena we call Minoan, as these are alleged to have been embodied in modern and postmodern art, architecture, theater, fashion, and design. My principal concern here will be with what we term architecture – a term I will be using in a basic, generic sense to refer to fabrications understood not only as relatively fixed or

permanent objects or artifacts, but as *practices of organizing and orchestrating space and time* in ways that both embody and critically interpret and transform social and cultural assumptions about what is, or might be understood as, given social realities. In fact, architecture is fourdimensional artistry: a theatrical practice.

These terms all refer to distinctions I will sharpen and refine *en passant*. My aim is to articulate a cogent and useful context or ground for the various subjects being explored and articulated in our discussions of Cretomania. I am aware that I will be using some of them in ways that may seem rather unorthodox (especially, perhaps, to an archaeological audience), so I will ask for your patience as I try to reconnect my own set of perspectives – or, more correctly, my packet of provocations – to more familiar usages of terms, themes, and subjects. Having been personally engaged with investigating the built environments of Bronze Age Crete and the Aegean for over four decades, I will be considering the 'mania' in question with regard to aspects of both modern and contemporary architectural practice and theory in the light of my own understanding of that mania's presumed object: the 'Minoan' built environment, which I take to include that environment's un-built and appropriated features. My chapter, then, will be an attempt to triangulate amongst several phenomena that I believe to be fundamentally at stake in an examination of Cretomania, and which are largely invisible in the discourse on Minoan art, architecture, and archaeology – or if visible, have remained so at a distance.

I will be trying to do three things. *First*, I will outline the ways in which I am using the term theater or theatricality; *second*, I will be considering what it means to view architecture as an *essentially* theatrical practice; and *third*, I will be considering history, memory, chronology, and archaeology as instruments of sociopolitical rectification and resolution. What do chronological fabrications answer to if not certain notions of *decorum* of temporal and spacetime relationships? That is, the promotion of a certain proper temporality – an *ortho-*

chronicity: the fittingness, in other words, of things arranged in their presumably proper positions in space and time. The subject evokes the civic nature and social functions of dramatic *tragedy*. One key to what I am going to suggest lies in what, from a modernist perspective, might be termed the *non*-representational character of the ancient Greek theater, and in particular of tragedy – that is, to put it more technically, its semiological multidimensionality and multimodality.

I would like to explore a key aspect of Cretomania as yet unaddressed, namely its *theatricality*, a term I will use to refer to that ancient Hellenic epistemological and architectonic technology, which arguably still constitutes one of the grounds or templates of subsequent notions about what are conventionally distinguished in Western modernity as art, politics, religion, and stagecraft. I am not going to discuss modern or contemporary Minoanist theater design or stagecraft, examples of which are very intriguingly discussed elsewhere in this volume. Rather, I want to consider what might be revealed by viewing or reckoning with the questions and problems of Cretomania through the lens or mirror of theatricality, and in particular tragic theater. I want to consider these problems and conundrums in the light of what is not infrequently distinguished as one key facet or aspect of theatricality, namely *architecture* – a term I will use in its broadest sense to include not only what are distinguished as buildings, urban design, and organization, but also the artifice and artistry of organizing civic space-time: its topographic and environmental stagecraft.

As a four-dimensional practice of organizing and orchestrating space and time in ways that both embody and critically interpret and transform social and cultural assumptions about what is or might be understood as a given social reality, architecture is a semi-autonomous practice not necessarily wholly separate from the material and virtual contexts within which it functions. I use the term 'context' in its original strong, etymological sense as not merely background, but as what something is woven together with.

My aim is to articulate a cogent and useful context or ground for the various subjects being explored and articulated here in our discussions. As mentioned above, I am aware that my use of some of these terms may seem rather unorthodox, and I ask for your patience as I try to reconnect my 'packet of provocations' to more familiar usages of terms, themes, and subjects. Yet, what I will be addressing here is in no small measure a product of my own engagement with the built environments of Bronze Age Crete and the Aegean for nearly five decades.

Technically speaking, Greek tragic drama did not merely 'represent' historical events and phenomena; it afforded citizens the opportunity to experience their own passions and affective emotions at a ceremonial distance through the *mediation* of dramatic characters. And this entailed no mere passive spectatorship: it entailed an active engagement with an individual's own selfhood for which tragic theatrical characters served as the foil and catalyst. Indeed, the tragic theater was the civic site *par excellence* for the manufacture and re-creation of citizenship – citizenship that could or should conform to social and political norms of behavior – a site for the ostensification and manifestation of civic decorum, that is, of appropriate or fitting social behavior. But the way it worked (its *modus operandi*) was by means of disjunctions and disparities of what was considered proper or normal, whether in terms of filial piety; relations between genders or between citizens and the gods; the transmission, or lack thereof, of familial or communal heritage; or disjunctions in the expected passage of time, where time was out of joint, or the conjunctions and disjunctions of civic boundaries and their permitted or barred crossings.

The logic of all this is not at all mysterious: what is to be promoted as proper civic decorum or comportment is staged by *dramatically highlighting what it is antithetical to*, comprising 'object lessons', so to speak, in how *not* to behave. A contemporary illustration of this point can be found in the aesthetic commentaries several years ago of the recently retired

Latin Pope Benedict XVI about precisely *why* art is important and necessary. We need art, Benedict claimed, precisely *because* it never lives up to its promise, because its fallibility makes it possible to *imagine by contrast* and thereby to desire a more perfect, ideal world of religious truth – in Benedict's case, the ideal cosmology and harmonious order or cosmology of Christianity.[2] The utility of art lay in affording the opportunity to imagine what its imperfections point to by contrast. This involved a logic in accord with any number of notions embodied in the system and structure of the ancient Greek language, where, for example, 'truth' is literally non-forgetfulness, or *a-letheia*. Crossing the river Lethe in Hades entailed the erasure of one's life memories. In later monotheist Christianity, the river Jordan was an analogous phenomenon, immersion in which, it was imagined, erased one's sins.

In Greek tragic theater, the manifestations of negative or *in*decorous relationships concerned what came to be known as *ekstasis* ('ecstasy', pl. *ekstases*) – the standing outside oneself caused by the mimetic artistry or *techne* of theater. This was a dangerous state of affairs – dangerous and terror-inducing for the comportment and harmonious integrity of the city, conceived as a proper microcosm of an ideal or divine cosmology, of the divine order of existence (existence construed as if it really were a 'creation' of the supernatural order of the gods).

Plato's solution to the *ekstases* (and consequent promiscuities) of representational or mimetic artistry, however, was not something else, but rather *better or more appropriate* art: that is, where the forms and functions of the polis, in all their details, were in concordance, and could be directly or transitively *legible* as indexing, echoing, or embodying the ideal forms of the universe conceived as a *cosmos*, a well-ordered and decorously ordered and integrated ideal whole. 'Gather me into the artifice of eternity,' as the Irish poet William Butler Yeats once nicely put it in his poem 'Sailing to Byzantium'.

If such notions sound familiar, it may be because, for many, they are completely and seamlessly integrated into our theologies – by which I mean, most generally, in and by the major monotheistic religions. Recall Augustine's contrast of an ideal 'City of God' with a 'City of Man', modern echoes of which abound in so many subsequent utopias projected and constructed in Europe and elsewhere, both temporally and spatially, from the architecture of Spanish Catholic missions in Latin America to Scottish Rite Freemasonry. This also has Jewish echoes in the decorous civic order embodied in the practice of the *eruv* – the articulation of boundary conditions in orthodox Jewish settlements, which specify which kinds of objects may be carried across boundaries between the sacred and the secular: the domain of the familial or private, and that of the public or the foreign. Or the artifice of the organization of the day or year fabricated as divisible space-time: holy days or seasons; Ramadan and Lent; or the day of the Sabbath; the cycle of the year mapped onto a sacred narrative. Each of these may be understood in the context of architecture itself as a theatrical practice for the civic *resolution* of potential promiscuity – the moderation of *ekstasis* – through the fabrication of decorum, or decorous or properly harmonious order, or cosmic integrity.

You may at this point be wondering what any of this has to do with 'Cretomania'. The answer is not especially arcane or obscure, and has to do with the realization that 'manias' are more or less equivalent to variations on familiar themes – the European Egyptomania two centuries ago mentioned earlier, or the Roman mania for certain things Greek two millennia ago, or the mania or passion for various antiquities and civic formations embodied in the forms of early modern nation-state foundations in Europe and its colonies referencing, directly or obliquely, in words and monuments, the Roman Republic or the Hellenic *polis*.

The meaning of the title given to my chapter – *Orthochronicity and its (dis)contents* – should by now be readily apparent. A mania is a disturbance of the harmony of

decorum, of the proper or ideal (imaginary) sequential order of the chronological artistry of archaeology, where any such sequential narrative of development masks its own artistry as a metaphysical ideology, or, more specifically, as a *teleology* masquerading as 'mere' (empirical, scientific, 'true', etc.) chronology. Cretomania, or indeed any comparable mania for what is past, whether or not that past is a modernist fabrication, *disconcerts* chronology precisely by foregrounding the fabricatedness of what is taken to be empirical historical development and sequential transformation: narrativity, in other words, masquerading as history. Cretomania, in a word, disconcerts the expected developmental narrative of history and historical chronology by interrupting its direction and canonical flow, by putting a spanner in its machinery, by being *temporally indecorous*. Walter Benjamin, writing during the very period when many of the artistic and theatrical embodiments of Cretomania that we have been considering were at their height, famously dealt directly with such issues in his writings about historical time, focusing in that case on the *revolutionary potential* of snatching something from the past for use in politically transforming the present, so as (in his case) to explore strategies for opposing the bourgeoning fascism of his own times.[3] Does or did Cretomania have a similar revolutionary dimension? If it constituted a modernist illusion, was it a useful illusion?

Cretomania may be understood as an instance of a broader phenomenon problematising or troubling not only history or teleological chronology, but also conventional distinctions between fact and fiction. This is not unlike the earlier writers of historical novels in the 19th century in many European countries, or even the fictional (re)constructions (verbal and/or architectonic) of Sir Arthur Evans, about which others have commented so astutely in this and other publications.[4] Regarding activities *intervening* in what might be promoted as a 'natural' developmental order of things and events, whether one is dealing with the history of art, or of politics, or with personal psychology – consider also the basic theses of Freud,

who incidentally could be said to have literally put Cretomania to clinical use,[5] and who argued that the past literally lives in and interacts with one's present in oblique ways.

What then does the particular mania here on the table, understood in the ways I have been proposing, have to do with the 20th-century American architect, city planner, and designer, Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959)? Instead of adding yet another modern architectural 'case study' of Cretomaniacal practices, as you will have gathered by now, my contribution to our discussions so far has gone under the radar by exploring the epistemological basement where the sub-structural foundations of the assumptions and presuppositions of our workshop are more visible and legible – foundations which I've been exploring and trying to articulate throughout this chapter.

The remarkable and indeed quite brilliant Frank Lloyd Wright, in a career spanning 70 years, never to my knowledge explicitly cited Minoan art or design to complement his many concrete citations of Aztec, Toltec, Incan, or Mayan building design and site planning. In contrast to the ruins and fantastic reproductions on Crete, these latter were continually visible and locally available for aesthetic citation and emulation, and Wright was not alone in using them in his modern practices in his attempt to create an explicitly non-European and genuinely (North) 'American' architecture rooted in architectonic forms and practices native to the Western hemisphere.

But his explicitly organic architecture and, it may be argued, not a few of the details of his house designs (cf. Figure 1.1), surely echo similar design properties in what have been postulated for aspects of Minoan building and landscape organisation, including, especially, the manner in which the latter were integrated into the landscape – as examined and documented by myself some time ago (and more recently by others) by means of visual alignments and spatial orientations, both terrestrial and solar, in ways that have possible precedents and analogues in middle- and late-kingdom Egypt.[6] The Anglophone *locus classicus* for this linkage was the work of the

20th-century American architectural historian and theorist Vincent Scully, who argued for a close relationship between Wright's and the Minoan use of both terrestrial and solar orientations as well as architectural forms.[7] Scully also claimed that my own work on Minoan architectural planning and landscape alignments and orientations echoed and resonated with Wright's own appreciation of Minoan planning.[8]

I have been grateful for the opportunity to air some of my own concerns, with what might be seen through the lens of Cretomania when the latter's object of attention is itself seen through the theatricality of its architectonic expression – as well as its interruption of historical continuities and consequent problematisings of conventional distinctions between fact and fiction, past and present, and, of course, and above all, of troubling our conventional modern distinctions between 'art' and 'religion'.[9]

Cretomania, when considered as a facet of teleological disquiet, has indeed troubled the positivistic decorum of not a few pieties by foregrounding the artifice of not a few of our fabrications, including Scully's link between Wright and Minoan Crete.

Notes

1 See, e.g., Reynolds 2014, pp. 80 and 342; cf. also http://www.eurekaencyclopedia.com/index.php/Category:Psychosexual_Problems (consulted on 22 May 2014).

2 Twomey & Rutherford 2011.

3 Benjamin 1968, pp. vi, 255.

4 See, for example, Chapter 5 by Blakolmer in this volume, with further bibliography.

5 See Gere 2006, 2009.

6 See, e.g., Preziosi 1984; Letesson 2013. See also Philippides & Sgouros, Chapter 2 in this volume.

7 Scully 1960, *passim* and 2013 (1962, 1969), pp. 9–14 and n. 14, p. 229.

8 My work (presented as a postgraduate student paper in 1966) is cited by Scully in the Preface to his 1969 edition, p. xi (cf. Scully 2013).

9 On modern distinctions between 'art' and 'religion', well beyond the particular limited focus of the present chapter, I must refer the reader to a newly published

book: Preziosi 2014, in particular Chapter 5, 'Parenthesis: Art, Time, and the Untimely', pp. 60–73.

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Chapter 2

Identity and freedom: some observations on Minoan and contemporary Greek architecture

Dimitri Philippides and Odysseas Sgouros

The identification of Minoan influences in contemporary architecture in Greece has so far been restricted to traces of Minoan decorative motifs, which, moreover, seem to have played a rather insignificant role in recent developments.[1] This is not surprising, mainly for two reasons: (a) Minoan art has generally been considered as merely 'decorative', hence a minor art or even an art fit only for decorative usage; and (b) Minoan art has only hesitantly been accepted by some as 'Greek' in character, and therefore has been deemed unfit to serve as a symbol of national identity and integrity, in the way in which Neo-Classicism had previously functioned in architecture for over a century.

As a result, the official history of modern Greek architecture, which abhors any suspected trait of decorativeness and dismisses 'fashion imports' as irrelevant incidents, has justifiably ignored the issue; the Minoan paradigm was never considered a necessary ingredient of the discussion on contemporary trends. A rudimentary probe into this neglected subject, however, could be of some interest today, for both the history of modern Greek architecture and 'Cretomania'.

To begin with, we are faced with a modern paradox. On one hand, by being susceptible to the character of place (*genius loci*), architecture is typically influenced by such aspects as geographic characteristics and local historical-cultural tradition: hypothetical 'Minoan' design could therefore signify much less (or at least could signify something quite different) if built on the Greek mainland instead of being constructed on

the fiercely regionalist island of Crete. On the other hand, the world-wide, post-World War II dissemination of modern architecture has de-emphasised the concept of local roots.[2] Hence, a typical Minoan-like form would lose its geographic and cultural bearings, irrespective of its particular location.

In practice, however, the distinction between a regionalist and an international-modernist approach is not as clear-cut as it may sound. There has been considerable osmosis between the two, which has resulted in a diluted form of regionalism somewhere in between regionalism and international modernism. Also, statistically speaking, the regionalist trend is extremely popular in Greek society in general, whereas the modernist one (endorsed by an elitist minority) dominates all specialized publications and relevant books, architecture exhibitions, and, of course, the educational system.

Caught between these two opposites, modern Greek architecture perennially calibrates between a distinctive 'localized' idiom[3] and an internationalist idiom, represented by prominent architects from the 1960s such as Nikos Valsamakis (b. 1924) and Takis Zenetos (1926–77), as well as by a younger generation, as exemplified by the office of ISV Architects (all born in the early 1950s). The presence of western European and, later, international trends has been a constituent trait of Greek culture since the emergence of the modern Greek state in 1830. From that point onwards, successive waves of such influences have reached the Greek shores, often adapting to local needs and, as a result, acquiring a new content. 'Minoan roots' could just as well be listed among them. Consequently, one should never forget that our references to Greek architects alone always imply a strong undercurrent of foreign influences as well.

To be more specific, 'Minoan roots' could be listed among the eclectic trends that raged around the turn of the 20th century in Europe, such as non-Western exoticism, medievalism, Art Nouveau, and neo-vernacular. Accordingly, between the collapse of neo-classicism and the subsequent rise

of modernism in Greece during the 1930s, alternative forms of regionalism – roughly a mixture of Art Nouveau, Art Deco,[4] neo-Byzantinism (the Greek equivalent to medievalism), and the neo-vernacular 'return to the roots'[5] – sprung up in Greece.

The climate, however, changed in the period after World War II. Regionalism was discredited as historicism, a retrogressive, conservative obstacle to the progress promised by modernism. Those who still opted for Greek character or 'Greekness' ("ελληνικότητα") in architecture preferred yet another revival of classicistic imitations and, to a lesser degree, neo-vernacular alternatives (pastiches). The great irony is that the latter, although frowned upon by critics, was massively favored by Greek society in general and was further encouraged by the official conservation drive of the country's vernacular heritage in the late 1970s. As we have already pointed out, a 'Minoan style' never seriously competed for a position in the list of favorite models for popular architecture.[6] Still, this does not necessarily mean that Minoan art and architectural influences were completely absent. They did exist, but mostly undercover. As stated above, our intention is to expose their hidden role despite their supposedly peripheral position.

To accomplish this goal, we have followed two steps. The first was a selection of a 'gallery of images' or features concerning Minoan art and architecture, as (fictional or real) models of inspiration for contemporary Greek architecture. The second was the recognition of links between those Minoan images/features and specific examples in modern Greek architecture. Our argument could be further clarified if both visual inventories were blended, as attempted below.

Before we start our discussion, however, two comments should be added regarding the Minoan art and architecture samples collected. First, in order to trace possible interconnections between Minoan material culture and modern Greek architecture, one has to draw references from their common ground, i.e., their physical or mental attributes as

exemplified in their corresponding description, verbal or written. Such attributes may be arbitrary and scientifically of low quality, but they are nevertheless important in providing practical distinctions and categories. Second, in order to provide an unbiased, unified field of reference, one needs to observe both co-existing but divergent manifestations of the Minoan paradigm: on the one hand, a blatant, naïve use of popular imagery and, on the other, a lofty, sophisticated approach to its essence. Therefore, for heuristic reasons, we define Minoan art and architecture in terms of a dualistic model based on two main directions, which we call the *Iconographic* and the *Abstract*, as illustrated in Table 2.1.

Some additional working definitions are also necessary. The *Iconographic* main direction can be split primarily into two categories according to usage, *Motifs* and *Patterns*, which can be borrowed, for example, from reconstructed Minoan buildings or from Minoan decorated pottery and frescoes.

The *Iconographic* direction is obvious due to its immediacy and readability. The layperson, regardless of his or her exposure to Minoan culture, will always 'read' Minoan *motifs* as a local style. The blatant use of Minoan decoration, so frequently met on contemporary structures on Crete (e.g. Figure 2.1), is a proof of a strong identity drive on the island. Once we distance ourselves from the imitation of Minoan motifs to face a more detached, refined approach to Minoan motifs as *Patterns*, we have to deal with subtle shifts in the character sought. We have tried to catch such nuances by the use of three closely related terms (intricacy, intimacy, repetitiveness), where the images themselves can be more eloquent than any description in writing.

If one were to look beyond the *Iconographic* main direction and turn to the spatial aspects of architecture in the *Abstract* main direction, one could initially distinguish *Conceptual* from *Structural* characteristics. The *Conceptual* category can, in turn, be split into *Primitivism* and *Naturalism*. The first sub-category represents a tendency toward minimalism, which is the contemporary preference for plain, stark forms in architecture.

The second sub-category is close to what we would call a Minoan equivalent of *joie de vivre*, as expressed, for example, by the unrestricted, direct 'freshness' of Minoan art. Furthermore, in this last case, we have distinguished natural character *(Naturalism I)* from an emphasis on vivid colour usage *(Naturalism II)* in an effort to come closer to related architectural attributes.

Table 2.1 Classification framework

Main direction	Category	Sub-category
ICONOGRAPHIC	Motifs	
	Patterns	Intricacy
		Intimacy
		Repetitiveness
ABSTRACT	Conceptual	Primitivism
		Naturalism I (Natural Forms)
		Naturalism II (Colour)
	Structural	Large scale
		Labyrinthine layout
		Massiveness

The second category of the *Abstract* main direction, i.e. the *Structural*, is related to matters such as scale, complexity, and massiveness, which are prominent in contemporary design debates.[7] Accordingly, *Structural* can be divided into three sub-categories: *Large scale, Labyrinthine*, and *Massiveness.* The vast size of Minoan palaces is closely related to both the labyrinthine layout and the massive masonry walls, as well as supports that one notices today in Minoan ruins.

Our next step, as previously mentioned, is to justify our somewhat audacious attempt to link contemporary Greek

architecture to the Minoan paradigm. In order to demonstrate how our proposed model fits into and throws an oblique light[8] on contemporary Greek architecture, we have to first address the crucial term *modernity*, a dominant issue in the discussion of contemporary architecture throughout the 20th century.

Our strategy is to utilise modernity as a tool to approach the various emanations of the 'Minoan roots' we are interested in. Yet we still have to explain how the Minoan paradigm is related to modernism. If the exploitation of Minoan motifs in regionalist architecture is more than obvious, the connection of Minoan to modernism is not as clear, and we should therefore provide a clarification concerning the application of Minoan characteristics to the modernist approach. Is there really an affinity between Minoan and modernity? To prove this connection, one could refer to the core of modernism, i.e. its drive to establish a new order, based on rationalism, and to revolutionise present-day life. This could only occur if one were allowed the freedom[9] to discard the past as a burden. The Minoan can then be interpreted as an art that defies the long-established tradition of classicism in Western civilization. So, it can be seen as a liberating force, which places the self in a joyful natural setting.[10]

As mentioned earlier, although after World War II, regionalism was discredited because of its affiliation with historicism, the distinction between regionalism and modernism is not so clear-cut. In fact, in Greece, modernity also seems to be connected to regionalism. If we return to locality, the essence of regionalism, we can identify a number of contemporary Greek architects, active on Crete and generally considered as modernists, such as one of the authors of this chapter (Odysseas Sgouros, b. 1959). We can also consider an older group of architects, consisting of Takis Zenetos (1926–77), Panos Koulermos (1933–99), and the team A66 (Dimitri Antonakakis, b. 1935, and Suzana Antonakakis, b. 1935), who have had projects designed for or built on Crete. They are collectively considered modern, although they hold markedly diversified positions on architecture. Therefore, their

names deservedly dominate our list of exemplary architects actively involved in the quest for 'Cretan roots'.

In view of the above arguments, our intention is to unearth unexpected affinities between projects, designed primarily but not exclusively on Crete,[11] by modern Greek architects and Minoan architecture. By exposing their hidden links to Minoan models, as we shall see, one could gain fresh insights to their contribution to Greek architecture in general and 'Cretomania' in particular. The above set of relationships is now plotted on the grid of Table 2.2.

Since modernism has been selected as a factor essential to the recognition of Minoan influences in Greek architecture, one could proceed with an evaluation of its impact aided by Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Reflections of Minoan art on modern Greek architecture

Main direction	**Category**	**Gallery of images based on identified sub-categories**	**Selected Greek architecture projects related to the Minoan paradigm**
ICONOGRAPHIC Motifs		Tapered columns, horns, vivid colors mainly derived from A. J. Evans's reconstructions of the Knossos palace	**N. Zoumboulides**, residence, Filothei suburb, Athens, 1934 **D. Kyriakos**, 'Cretan Heroon', Herakleion, 1930

			Contemporary tourist shops, Crete
	Patterns	Magazines' grid in Phaistos and Knossos palaces	**P. Koulermos**, three houses and four projects, Herakleion, 1985–89
		kernos, Malia palace/town mosaic	**O. Sgouros**, Malia Athletic Center, 2007-/ residence at Mochlos, Lasithi, 2011-
ABSTRACT	Conceptual	*Primitivism*: Late neolithic house, Magasa/Middle Minoan house, Chamaizi/Palaikastro ossuaries/Knossos Temple Tomb	**D. Fatouros**, residences 'Peristera 1' and 'Peristera 2', Chalkidiki, 1971–72/residence 'Kimolos 5', Kimolos, 1989/residence, Markopoulo, Attica, 1991–95
		Naturalism I (natural forms use): house model, Archanes/clay figures/Phaistos model/Kydonia site (Chania)	**T. Zenetos**, two touristic development projects, Agia Galini and Plakias, 1966

		D. and S. Antonakakis, house at Montevardia, Chania, 1975
	Naturalism II (colour profusion): Middle Minoan pottery/Queen's Quarters and Throne Room at Knossos	**N. Mitsakis**, competition entry, Greek pavilion for Paris Exhibition, 1937
	D. and S. Antonakakis, Hotel Lyttos, Anissaras, 1974–76/residence, Akrotiri, Chania, 1978	
Structural	*Large scale:* Theatral Area and North Corridor at Knossos	**P. Koulermos**, Research Center of Crete, Herakleion, 1985–90
	Labyrinthine layout: Malia palace/Vasiliki/Nirou Khani/Gournia	**D. and S. Antonakakis**, School of Philosophy, University of Crete, Rethymnon, 1981; Polytechnic School of Crete, Chania, 1982

	P. Koulermos, Science complex, Herakleion, 1986–90
Massiveness: Phaistos and Knossos palace buildings	**D. and S. Antonakakis**, competition entry, New Acropolis Museum, 1991
	A. and G. Varoudakis, residence at Gerani, Kydonia, 2002/residence at Agios Matthaios, Chania, 2007-

The two architects grouped on the top right of Table 2.2, however, do not fit into the modernist camp in the period before World War II. Nicolaos Zoumboulides (1888–1969) and Dimitri Kyriakos (1881–1971) were both adherents to a rather conservative offspring of eclecticism, which leaned towards classicism. Zoumboulides was a Bank of Greece employee, responsible for the design of a variety of related projects all over the country, where he occasionally used Minoan and Mycenaean motifs. The same holds true for the design of his own house in an Athenian suburb (Figure 2.2), where he used Minoan motifs.[12] Kyriakos, who was extremely active in Herakleion, where he was employed in the civil service before World War II, left a number of sumptuous mansions on the main axis of the city. He never designed anything Minoan in

character, however, except for the Heroon (Figure 2.3). Although a prominent Cretan landmark before World War II, this monument was later completely forgotten and was recently threatened with demolition.

Neither of the aforementioned architects, however, is directly connected to the search for 'Greekness' – a major issue among writers and artists, including architects, in the 1930s, as mentioned above. Obviously this prewar iconographic tendency is also connected to its present equivalent, i.e. the crude, profusely decorative use of Minoan motifs such as columns, horns, etc. in vernacular architecture (mainly tourist shops geared to foreigners seeking 'local colour').

The next group of architects in Table 2.2 consists of Panos Koulermos (1933–99) and Odysseas Sgouros (b. 1959). The former was a dedicated neorationalist who leaned toward the relevant Italian School, while the latter has experimented with various aspects of late modernism. Whereas Koulermos never shifted positions, Sgouros has moved from post-modernist excesses early in his career to stark minimalism and, more recently, to a balanced mix of modernism and regionalism.

Koulermos avoided historicist references in his educational projects in Herakleion. To him, nearby Knossos was an abstraction, fit only to line up with the orientation of his Research Complex (Figures 2.4, 2.5) and to provide a handy comparison with the size of the facilities he designed for the University of Crete. Sgouros's intentions are different.[13] In his (as yet un-built) gym at Malia, he was inspired by the *kernos*, i.e. table for offerings found in the excavations at the palace of Malia, and based his design on a segment of this round-shaped Minoan object (Figure 2.6). In a more recent project, a house at Mochlos, Sgouros exploits the pattern of the well-known Knossos 'Town Mosaic' faience plaques for the design of its elevations (Figure 2.7).

Dimitri Fatouros (b. 1928), as we shall see, is a unique case because, besides Sgouros, he is the only architect known to have emphasised his Minoan affiliations explicitly. By using the

plan of the Late Neolithic house at Magasa on the cover of his 1988 book,[14] he was simultaneously referring to its pre-war use as a symbol of modernism and to his own search for primary forms from the depths of prehistoric times: first, he was consciously paying homage to the avant-garde painter Nikos Hateikyriakos-Gikas[15] his professor at the Technical University of Athens and mentor; and second, his 'ideogram' standing for a house was equivalent to the remarkably 'primitive' house (Peristera 1) he designed on a small off-shore rock at Chalkidiki (Northern Greece) in the early 1970s with the use of second-hand materials. The same holds true for his next project, Peristera 2, in the same area (Figure 2.8), which was based on the plan of the Middle Minoan house at Chamaizi, but was never built. The association of Fatouros with Minoan forms, however, became less specific with the passage of time. Almost 20 years later, he designed two houses, one on Kimolos in the Cyclades, and the other at Markopoulo, near Athens, where the primitive character was interpreted as minimal-size volumes (Kimolos) or expressly rough masonry walls (Markopoulo) (Figure 2.9). Such devices have enabled Fatouros to retain a friendly dialogue with nature, where architecture respects nature and blends into its forms and textures.

Takis Zenetos (1926–1977) represents a completely different approach to nature. Being a pure revolutionary, he prefers to take advantage of nature by exploiting land contours (Figures 2.10, 2.11). His design interventions are more drastic than Fatouros's but seem equally capable of fitting with great ease into the natural environment. Technology and the daring use of modern materials enable him, surprisingly enough, to come to terms with the landscape in a naturalistic manner. In this respect, his free-floating forms are comparable to the 'earthen' character of the terra-cotta Archanes house model or the house layouts of Minoan Chania.

The case of the A66 team (Dimitri and Suzana Antonakakis, both b. 1935) is distinct on many accounts. Whereas Zenetos kept aloof of any such considerations, A66 was immersed in the

search for ‘Greekness’. As a postwar successor to the original quest for ‘Greekness’ in Greek architecture in the 1930s, such a tendency was recently listed under the term critical regionalism, where a modern approach was combined with indigenous character, as was previously noted.[16] In this search for the *genius loci*, the A66 team has played a significant role in Greece. They have actually assimilated a great number of influences, both Western (ranging from Le Corbusier to Aldo van Eyck) and local (D. Pikionis and A. Konstantinides, both venerated leaders of contemporary Greek architecture). Is it possible, however, to discern the existence of Minoan traits in their work?

The A66 team has designed and built a large number of projects on Crete, mostly residential. According to Table 2.2. their work could be listed under two categories and four sub-categories in our *Abstract* main direction: in the *Conceptual* category, they fit into *Naturalism I* (in form) *and Naturalism II* (in colour); in the *Structural* category, they fit into *Labyrinthine layout* and *Massiveness*. The formal naturalism *(Naturalism I)* sub-category is exemplified by their house at Montevardia, which, at least in its roughly executed model, retains the character of the Archanes house model in clay; the *Naturalism II* sub-category is illustrated by their Lyttos Hotel (Figure 2.12) and a residence at Akrotiri, which offers sufficient proof of their ecstatic polychrome effect. *Naturalism II* puts emphasis on the use of vivid colours, as indicated in pottery and interior decoration, for example, in the Throne Room of Knossos. Also listed in this sub-category in our Table 2.2 is Nikos Mitsakis (1899–1941), who was one of the protagonists in the pre-World War II debate on ‘Greekness’. A close friend of Dimitri Pikionis, but also a fervent and accomplished modernist, he practiced an ingenious mix of regionalism and International Style. In the example illustrated here, a competition entry for a Greek pavilion in Paris (Figure 2.13), Mitsakis submitted a ‘Minoan’ analogy,[17] perhaps more vibrant and lively than the monumental character of the previously mentioned Heroon by Kyriakos.

In the second category of the *Abstract* main direction *(Structural)*, three sub-categories were distinguished. The first, *Large scale*, can be represented by examples such as the Theatral Area and the North Corridor at Knossos. One might consider as their modern architecture equivalent the Research Center of Crete, designed by Panos Koulermos. He never hid his intention to create a monumental composition, and he markedly demonstrated the way he interpreted the relation of his design to the Minoan paradigm (Knossos) by plotting their interconnection on a specially drawn map of the city.[18]

The second sub-category, *Labyrinthine layout*, is exemplified not only at Knossos itself, the ultimate Labyrinth model, but also in layouts such as the Malia palace, Vasiliki, or Nirou Khani; this sub-category can find modern equivalents in the A66 team's playful arrangement of volumes and expressly complex circulation pattern in house interiors as well as their two higher-education complexes in Rethymno and Chania (Figure 2.14 and Table 2.2); the labyrinthine character of the latter is also in perfect compliance with the principle of 'labyrinthine clarity' promulgated by the Dutch architect Aldo van Eyck (1912–99).[19]

The third and last sub-category is *Massiveness*, which, again, is expressed in elements and details from the Phaistos and Knossos palaces. These traits are present in the treatment of volumes and specific composition details in the 1991 A66 team's entry to the Acropolis Museum competition (Figure 2.15).

The brothers Aristomenis (b. 1947) and Giorgos Varoudakis (b. 1951), who both practice in Chania, are presently recognised as the most prominent Cretan architects active on the island. Around a decade ago they introduced heavy, unplastered masonry walls, often painted in warm, earthen colors, into their residential projects. They subsequently exploited the properties of such walls to stress the 'materiality' of structural elements in their architecture (Figure 2.16). In doing so, they have approached, perhaps unconsciously, a contemporary

equivalent to the massiveness of structures evident in Minoan buildings.

Three additional points stem from this table: (a) some architects (such as A66) can simultaneously participate in different 'categories'; (b) some architects (such as Mitsakis, the A66 team, and the Varoudakis brothers) are not aware of, or ignore by choice, their connection to the Minoan model;[20] and (c) relatively few architects demonstrate a lively interest in the Minoan paradigm: some, such as the pre-war architects Zoumboulides and Kyriakos, made use of Minoan motifs; Fatouros and Sgouros are exceptions, in their more analytical and sophisticated reception and re-deployment of Minoan features.

So far we have discussed architectural examples according to the taxonomic logic of Table 2.2. Yet, we feel that something is still missing. We shall now, therefore, disregard the strict order imposed by our table and explore more freely some additional relations as evidenced by the selected material.

By looking at Greek architecture from our 'oblique' point of view (cf. above), we may observe that Zoumboulides (who makes naïve use of motifs) and Fatouros (who offers a sophisticated interpretation of patterns) abandon their place in time, i.e. the 1930s and 1960s, respectively, and join a wider conspiracy, where the thirst for novelty counts above all. In this respect, even the A66 team appear as daring innovators, whereas Koulermos, on the one hand, keeps himself within the neo-rationalist camp, and on the other manages to uplift his forms so that they become contemporary equivalents of the Knossos model. Zenetos finally projects his fantasy beyond this world into a futuristic dream, which is a paradox similar to that displayed by Minoan art. In effect, they are all playing with *freedom* of expression, which surpasses conventional norms.

Seen from an even greater distance, our discussion so far has focused on two opposing concepts, freedom and identity, which coincide with the title of our chapter. Freedom is related to

what we perceive as the expressive openness, exuberance, and charm of Minoan art. One could thus claim that, wherever we find freedom of expression and disregard for conventions, we are close to a Minoan influence. Identity conversely refers to the discipline of and compliance with set rules as implied by belonging to a chosen locus. Thus, whenever conventional and codified behavior is emphasized, then the Minoan paradigm fades away.

The architects we referred to could thus be classified either as 'seekers' (who freely search for the corresponding ideal form, like Fatouros) or 'devotees' (who never deviate from a fixed, codified model, like Koulermos). The case of Fatouros needs no further analysis: he and Sgouros willingly display their Minoan sources as potential interpretive tools. Koulermos, on the other hand, was plainly a dedicated neo-rationalist, irrespective of when or where he built.

Finally, we are faced with the distinct case of the A66 team, who revolted against the orthodoxy of post-war modern architecture in search of a personal idiom. As initiators of such a personal idiom, to be sought at great risk early in their career, they should be listed as 'seekers'; yet, if judged by their undeviating course later on, once they became well-established architects, it seems that they moved towards the 'devotees' camp. Still, the formal characteristics of their work in general, regardless of their professed intentions, clearly reveal various Minoan traits as identified in the above discussion. In view of this peculiarity, perhaps one should devise a third category besides 'seekers' and 'devotees' in order to accommodate the A66 team: they deserve to be called 'intrinsically Minoan', less by intent (as a conscious, free choice) but more by contemplation (derived from a copious inner search).

The identification of a third category, i.e. 'intrinsically Minoan', forces us to reconsider the case of dedicated modernists such as Zenetos and, once more, Koulermos.[21] Certain emanations of modernism are known for their puritanical austerity, which imposes strict rules for conduct; still other forms of modernism have played a liberating role. In

this latter sense, Zenetos, as an avant-garde visionary, was arguably more 'intrinsically Minoan' in spirit than those who consciously sought literal or tangible connections to the Minoan roots as a means of identity. Koulermos, on the other hand, was in fact less 'intrinsically Minoan' since he was merely competing with the size and complexity of Knossos, irrespective of its symbolic content and its relation to the particular place.

Notes

1 Among the latest publications, cf. Doumanis 2005; Skousboll 2006; Giacumacatos 2008; Tsakopoulos 2014.

2 By definition, the International Style that emerged before World War II and dominated the post-war period, as an heir to the Modern Movement, emphasised the world-wide dissemination of a uniform architecture – if not in actual terms, at least in intention (Frampton 1980, p. 248).

3 This trend has been identified as 'regional criticism' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981; Frampton 1983).

4 The connection between Art Nouveau, Art Deco, and Minoan art, although a fascinating subject, lies outside the scope of this chapter. See, however, Blakolmer, Chapter 3 in this volume, with relevant bibliographical references.

5 It is indicative that even such revered leaders of the 'return to the roots' group, such as Aristotelis Zachos (1872–1941), who believed in a continuum from the Byzantine period to the present, or Dimitri Pikionis (1887–1968), who held an a-temporal appreciation of a uniform Greek tradition, were never interested in Minoan culture. Still, one could argue that the latter unconsciously used Minoan forms in designing the auxiliary building to the Loumbardiaris complex (Filopappou Hill, Athens, 1953–1957).

6 Meanwhile, an upsurge of modernist architecture was recorded in Greece in the 1960s, during a period of explosive development in the country, yet this concerned elitist architecture alone.

7 For example, Ghirardo 1996; De Solà-Morales 1997.

8 The term 'oblique' signifies the model's quaintness in regard to well-established concepts in Greek architecture, which are currently in vogue. To cite just one example, the latest book on Greek architecture by Tsakopoulos (2014) is based on the premise that Greece has never deviated from the formal austerity imposed by modernism in the early 1960s.

9 In our opinion, freedom is a key word that is fundamental to the interpretation of Minoan culture; it is referred to in the title of this chapter and is further discussed in the conclusion.

10 This general atmosphere fits ideally into the expression *joie de vivre* (joy of living).

11 To build in a Minoan style could be considered, to some extent, as a moral obligation, but also a puzzle for architects living and working on Crete

nowadays. In a conference on traditional architecture organized by the Association of Architects from Chania in 1988, Giorgos Varoudakis exhibited a poster showing the Knossos palace plan. He had painted the central court of the palace in a bright colour and questioned the validity of such a model for present-day architecture.

12 In what is, to our knowledge, the first published reference to this house, it was merely termed a 'historical paradox' (Philippides 2001, pp. 92–93). In a subsequent publication (Fessa-Emmanouil (ed.), 2009, pp. 26–27), a reference to the style of this house was connected to a number of similar interiors for banks also designed by Zoumboulides.

13 In his architectural work, O. Sgouros, although he never openly publicised it, always tried to draw inspiration from historical references derived from his physical or social environment, be it his family (such as his grandmother's home embroideries) or local history (patterns from Minoan or Venetian monuments or artifacts). Such associations have played an important role in the preliminary stages of his designs. The particular use of the *kernos* and the 'Town Mosaic' were mentioned by him in extensive conversations we have had on his work in the recent past.

14 Fatouros 1988.

15 The first known appearance of the Magasa plan in a Greek publication on art and architecture is in the avant-garde magazine *The 3rd Eye* [*το 3ο μάτι*] in the issue 7.12.1937, edited by a group of 'friends', among whom Nikos Hateikyriakos-Ghikas played a major role.

16 In fact, the origin of this term is traced to an analysis of their contribution to Greek architecture (see note 3).

17 Our interpretation of this project by Mitsakis is reinforced by the fact that the first prize at this competition was awarded to a project that sported 'Minoan style' (*Eleftheron Vima [Ελεύθερον Βήμα]*, 7.12.1936). This coincidence may suggest that Minoan motifs were currently accepted as representative of the Greek nation state (where a dictatorship was recently imposed).

18 According to a relevant drawing in the monograph by Koulermos (1994, p. 80), the Research Centre of Crete, as part of a much larger complex of buildings, lines up with an axis that traverses the central court of Knossos.

19 Van Eyck's principle of 'labyrinthine clarity' was based on patterns of units arranged in discernible sets; it was applicable to both small scale (his Amsterdam Orphanage) and large scale (to entire cities).

20 One cannot entirely rule out the possibility that such relationships seem arbitrary or even concocted. This holds true for our entire argument once we step away from literal, obvious loans of typical Minoan forms and patterns. For example, both Koulermos and the A66 team are often considered as participants in a Mediterranean genre of architecture by some foreign authors. We are conscious of this danger but willing to take the risk, as we initially stated, in view of the possible gain of new insights by unearthing unexpected affinities between projects.

21 By being acutely modern, Zenetos and Koulermos both displayed a detached approach to the Minoan roots, as one might expect. Still, this did not prevent

them from following also other courses in their architecture, which allows us to continue our discussion.

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Chapter 3

The artistic reception of Minoan Crete in the period of Art Deco: the reconstruction of the palace at Knossos … and why Arthur Evans was right[1]

Fritz Blakolmer

Introduction

The study of the reception of antiquity in 20th-century art is a risky task, since our main methodological tool is to establish and interpret similarities, and this is often a highly subjective exercise, which can mislead us because it is affected by false expectations and prejudices. Questions of artistic reception require a highly critical approach, especially when one is confronted with a multitude of possible cross-fertilisations between artists, restorers, architects, and archaeologists, such as in studies of Aegean prehistory of the early 20th century. While the relation between Art Nouveau/Jugendstil and the discoveries of the Cretan Bronze Age at the beginning of the 20th century constitutes an often-discussed (albeit controversial) topic, it appears that similar questions concerning the period between the First and Second World Wars have, so far, received much less scholarly attention. Thus, in the first part of this contribution, I will shed light on the artistic reception of Minoan art in this later period and on the interrelations between Art Deco, Cubism, and their related artistic trends on the one hand, and the archaeological activities, especially in Minoan Crete, on the other. The second part will be devoted to examining to what extent the reconstruction of Evans's 'Palace of Minos' in the 1920s was shaped by contemporary architectural concepts. I have to stress

that I am neither a modern art historian nor an architect: my focus is merely the history of research and artistic reception.

While, during the first two decades of the 20th century, a vivid interest in the rediscoveries of Minoan Crete existed among the educated public and contemporary artists, the situation during the 1920s and 1930s was different in several respects. Whereas the character of the early discoveries by Arthur Evans, Luigi Pernier, and other pioneers of Minoan archaeology was highly unexpected and astonishing, after the 1920s, new excavations yielded less-spectacular highlights and 'more of the same'. Henceforward, sensational finds were eclipsed by the study and interpretation of the archaeological material already recovered.[2] A further essential point for appreciating the altered relation between the artistic community and Minoan Crete at that time is the changed character of modern art: whereas Minoan ornaments and iconography perfectly fitted the artistic tendencies of modernity at the 'Fin de Siècle',[3] the avant-garde styles of Art Deco, Cubism, Dadaism, Constructivism, and related styles had considerably less in common with the artistic language of Minoan Crete (and Mycenaean Greece).[4] When, in 1925, the archaeologist Otto Waser defined Minoan art as one 'of disquietness, eccentric character, playful distraction',[5] this could have been equally applied to certain aspects of the artistic trend of Art Nouveau/Jugendstil, with its fantastic, hypertrophic ornamental design. By contrast, as a reaction to this dynamic, experimental, and chaotic stylistic trend, the new artistic avant-garde of the 1920s and 1930s was dominated by the call 'back to orderliness!'[6]

When compared to the preceding period, modern artists and architects of the 1920s and 1930s possessed a fundamentally altered attitude towards the reception of ancient, foreign, or exotic motifs, ornaments, figurative arts, and architectonic features. Their approach was much more reserved, abstract, sober, and dominated by a distance, which enabled the combination and integration of foreign elements to a

considerably lesser degree than before.[7] This can be illustrated, for example, by the inclusion of the classical sculpture of a naked, dying warrior in the pediment of the façade of the Villa Primavesi in Vienna by Josef Hoffmann (Figure 3.1), which constitutes an isolated, constructivist quotation of antiquity in any order.[8] Similarly, in the London Eltham Palace, completed in 1936, exotic Australian animals were combined with meander motifs and positioned on the wings of doors as foreign elements accentuating the sober elegance of the largely undecorated interior room.[9] By this period, artistic reception can occasionally be equated with copying, as in the example of the 1930 Carlton Cinema in London, designed by George Cole in the style of 'Egyptian Revival'[10] – which, in character, appears more Egyptian than 'Egyptianizing'.

Art Deco and Aegean Bronze Age – a contradiction?

As mentioned above, it is often much more difficult to define and to discover the artistic reception of Aegean Bronze Age elements in the arts of the 1920s and 1930s than in the Art Nouveau period. Art Nouveau exhibits a large amount of ornamental features, iconographical peculiarities, and distinct ideal preferences (such as the thematic focus on abstract landscape, femininity, mythical creatures, and symbolic archetypes), which come remarkably close to what astounds us in the visual arts of Bronze Age Crete. This perplexing coincidence was already remarked upon by the time of the early pioneer excavations in Crete, and is still current today.[11] This notion of 'déjà-vu' was expressed, for example, by Charles Picard in 1932 in his characterization of Minoan arts as a 'pré-modern-style pour archéologues'.[12] A similar view of Minoan art was given, at that time, by the avant-garde artist Léon N. Bakst, who described it as 'a new order of antique art, one that is so close and familiar to us! … an eternally smiling child'.[13] By contrast, the artistic tendencies of the avant-garde between the two World Wars essentially constituted a reaction leading away from the unbounded, fantastical artistic creations and

back, towards the opposite direction. The Art Deco style is dominated by qualities such as clearness, practicality, elegance, a new plainness and simplicity, as well as starkness in architecture. While Art Nouveau artists were opposed to the often-quoted 'tyranny of Renaissance and classical Greece' and were 'fighting against [that] horrible antiquity',[14] the avant-garde of the 1920s and 1930s pursued different objectives and was less target-oriented.

These altered artistic tendencies might be the main reason why Minoan and Mycenaean arts were of less interest for the avant-garde of the interwar period than they had been before. As a consequence, the 1920s and 1930s allow us to recognize a kind of backlash in the artistic reception of Minoan Crete. This does not necessarily mean a complete absence of interest, but new spectacular impulses from excavations at Knossos and other Cretan sites were comparatively scarce during this period. Instead, one finds the perpetuation of the traditional, familiar, and eye-catching motifs (as well as perceptions shaped by images of Minoan Crete), which were essentially recovered already before World War I. In other words, when studying examples of the artistic reception of Minoan as well as Mycenaean objects and motifs in the 1920s and 1930s, we gain the impression that, in the majority of cases, old finds and previous excavations rather than new, contemporary ones were used. This means that traditional models were picked up and utilised by modern artists as prominent pre-existing images of reminiscence. The selection, formation, and codification of images, as well as the creation of cultural stereotypes pertaining to the 'World of King Minos', had already taken place, to a large extent, during the first period of 'Cretomania' before World War I – whether it be the specific spiral motifs, the variegated floral motifs, animals of the Marine style, 'Ladies' wearing the flounced skirt, or the unmistakeably Aegean column tapering downwards. By the 1920s and 1930s, it was neither necessary nor easily feasible to look for or to invent visual *topoi* other than those rediscovered by pioneer archaeologists such as Arthur Evans, David G. Hogarth, Luigi

Pernier, Harriet A. Boyd Hawes, Richard Seager, Stefanos Xanthoudidis, and others many years before.[15]

The phenomenon of artificially constructed cultural icons, circulating among artists and the public independently of current archaeological activities and results, can be observed in the – at least somehow comparable – case of the Trojan horse in Wolfgang Petersen's 2004 film *Troy*. The strange large-scale horse (constructed with steel and fibreglass made to look like recycled wood from the hulls of ships) has now been elevated to a historical meta-level and has become a new public icon or stereotype – as shown, for example, in a French comic strip (Figure 3.2).[16] In the same way as Petersen's movie prop has now been transformed into an eye-catching Homeric image, archaeological restorations and reconstructions of Cretan artifacts by Evans, the Gilliérons, and others were turned into symbolic emblems of Minoan Crete, which were taken up and imitated by modern artists and architects, and this was irrespective of any actual academic discussions in Aegean archaeology in subsequent periods.

When we inquire about the interrelation between Art Deco style, archaeology, and the Aegean Bronze Age during the 1920s and 1930s, our attention is drawn to two directions of impact in particular: (1) the reception of ornaments, iconographical motifs, figurines, and architectural design; and (2) the possible influence of Art Deco, Cubism, and related artistic styles on restorations and reconstructions of archaeological materials as well as the 'reconstitution' works at Knossos at that time.

Artistic reception of the Aegean Bronze Age during the 1920s and 1930s

The altered character of artistic reception during the 1920s and 1930s, as outlined above, can be observed also in the approach to objects and architecture of the Aegean Bronze Age. By now, this appears to be mainly stereotyped, uncompromising, and in most cases less sophisticated than before. Over a decade ago, Alexandre Farnoux presented some excellent examples of this:

the imitations of two Mycenaean kylikes and a deep bowl (made by a modern Italian goldsmith), which were exhibited in Paris in 1925.[17] It is probably no coincidence that these *Mykenaika* were combined with a wall-mounted display shelf decorated with a Japanese design – the association between Aegean objects and exotic East Asian artistic forms was already very common during the Art Nouveau period.[18] Another example is a globular vessel created by Charles Catteau in 1931 (Figure 3.3) that clearly imitates a famous Marine-style jug from Gournia.[19] Instead of the typical Late Minoan finish, however, the vessel possesses a glittering shiny surface, which was very popular among Art Deco handicrafts.

Without any doubt, the Early Cycladic marble figurines, which were already known to scholars in the late 18th century, constitute the most 'cubistic' artefacts of the Aegean Bronze Age. Although their public prominence has boomed especially since the 1950s,[20] artists such as Jacques Lipchitz, Henry Moore, Constantin Brancusi, Jacob Epstein, Alberto Giacometti, Jean Arp, and Amedeo Modigliani made references to them in their œuvre already during the 1920s and 1930s.[21] Just as was the case with the initial 'Cretomania' during the Art Nouveau period, I cannot see any other reason for the popularity of the Cycladic figurines among these artists other than their 'déjà-vu effect', i.e. their similarities to current or pre-existing modern artistic styles. Furthermore, these marble figurines, with their abstract archaic forms, characterised by ascetic minimalism, have hardly ever been associated by modern artists with other periods of Aegean prehistory, but are rather linked to exotic primitivism. This is demonstrated by a derogatory statement made by the archaeologist Charles Picard in 1930, which also well exemplifies the conflict between the classical artistic tradition and the avant-garde: according to him, these Cycladic figurines did not bear any artistic value, except for 'les amateurs contemporains d'une esthétique un "peu nègre"'.[22]

A traditional Minoan motif, highly popular among modern artists in the 1920s-1930s, was the Aegean column, with its shaft tapering downwards and its characteristic capital,[23] as can be seen, for example, in various set designs by Léon N. Bakst for Gabriele D'Annunzio's *Phèdre/Fedra* of 1923.[24] These works present a potpourri of oft-quoted Minoan motifs, such as the ritual double-axe, the 'sacral knot', spirals, and the Knossian 'Griffin fresco' from the 'Throne Room' incorporated into the multi-storey 'Grand Staircase' of the palace of Knossos.[25]

Since the early 1930s, 'Neo-Minoan' architecture, i.e. modern buildings combining Minoan elements, have become popular, as illustrated by Dimitrios Kyriakos's 1930 'Heroon' (War Memorial) on Plateia Eleftherias in Herakleion (see Philippides and Sgouros, Figure 2.3 in Chapter 2 of this volume).[26] As a model for such 'Neo-Minoan' structures, architects and designers relied not so much on archaeological data, but rather on Evans's reconstruction of his 'Palace of Minos'. A remarkable combination of Art Deco, Classical, and Minoan elements can be found in a modern villa in the Athenian district of Filothei (see Figure 2.2 in Philippides and Sgouros, Chapter 2 of this volume) designed by the Greek architect Nikolaos Zoumboulidis during the 1930s.[27] Although at first glance we gain the impression of the imitation of a complete Minoan mansion with its bare façades, verandas, and 'polyparathyra', in fact the columns turn out to be the only unequivocal element borrowed from the Minoan architectural repertory. This point is noteworthy, since it shows quite plainly the similarity between the simple, undecorated cubistic architecture of the 1930s and the archaeologists' conceptualisation of palatial Minoan architecture.

The 'reconstitution' of the 'Palace of Minos' at Knossos

Let us proceed to the most impressive monument constructed in 'Cretomaniac' style during the 1920s, i.e. Evans's

'reconstitution' of his 'Palace of Minos'. It seems astonishing that in the course of the last ninety years, a systematic, comprehensive study of Evans's reconstruction work at Knossos, addressing his aims, procedures, and chosen forms from a historical perspective, has never been published.[28] Instead, especially during the past twenty years, a kind of ritualised criticism has come into vogue among some archaeologists, which interprets Evans's 'Palace of Minos' as a 'forged antiquity' and a 'shrine of the Fake'[29] and is based on picking up distinct points and generalising individual assumptions about this monument. The reaction among contemporary colleagues concerning Evans's early reconstructions, however, was generally positive.[30] By contrast, the large-scale reconstruction programme that Evans carried out between 1922 and 1930 caused great scepticism in various respects.[31] The style of pseudo-ruins created by Piet de Jong,[32] involving broken walls suddenly continuing into lively and colourful partial reconstructions of multi-storey buildings, caused confusion and evoked criticism from the beginning (Figures 3.4–3.6). Evans was well aware that with his partial restorations up to the upper floors, 'the lover of picturesque ruins may receive a shock', as he wrote in 1927.[33] As John C. McEnroe has conclusively shown, Evans's decision in the early 1920s to reconstruct and to use cement were motivated by the then growing interest on the part of a broader public for archaeological discoveries.[34] It is interesting to note that some of Evans's intentions were already established in the course of his first excavation campaigns.[35] He had expressed one of his purposes, i.e. 'the education of the public',[36] already in 1905: 'The effect of this legitimate process of reconstitution is such that it must appeal to the historic sense of the most unimaginative'.[37] This is also important regarding the question of the influence of Art Deco on Minoan reconstructions, since Evans's main archaeological and iconographical sources for

reconstructing Minoan palatial architecture were already known to him long before the emergence of an Art Deco style.

Criticism of Evans's 1920s–1930s reconstructions began at the outset, when he was condemned as 'le constructeur de ruines'.[38] An ambivalent view was also expressed by Federico Halbherr: 'molto istruttive per i profani, ma molto ardite' ('very instructive for the layman, but very daring').[39] Other visitors felt reminded of 'the architectonic backdrop of a movie' and of 'the decoration of a cinema' with theatrical effects,[40] and this sometimes also applied to Evans's earlier, more cautious restoration measures at Knossos. Without any doubt, such criticism was appropriate and directed against one of Evans's basic aims, as formulated by himself in 1928: 'in the last few years the site of Knossos has renewed its life'.[41] At any rate, and especially since the 1920s, when large-scale reconstruction work started, critique by archaeologists, architects, and other visitors increased considerably. In this critique, two different aspects of his work have been combined and intermingled: first, the method of reconstructing multi-storey buildings on top of the original ruins, which indubitably deserves criticism; and second, the actual architectural forms chosen, which deserve further scrutiny. Thus, in the following pages, I will refrain from discussing the necessity (or not) of large-scale restorations of Knossian areas such as the 'Grand staircase', the 'Domestic quarter', and the 'Throne-room' (cf. Figures 3.6–3.11). Instead, I will focus on the question as to whether the architectural forms chosen by Evans are themselves Minoan in character or represent contemporary Art Deco style.

An Art Deco palace on Crete?

Not so much during the period of reconstruction, but in the course of the past two decades, some scholars have suggested that the 'Palace of Minos' reflects elements of modernist Art Deco architecture.[42] This could well be the case, given the date of construction and the professional background of the

architects involved in the project. As a consequence, restored parts of the 'Palace of Minos' have been considered 'to be the best-preserved and finest examples of Art Deco and Art Nouveau architecture in Greece'[43] and 'a tribute to Art Nouveau and Art Deco sensitivities'.[44] In particular, the 'Piano nobile' above the 'Throne-room' (Figure 3.11) has been characterised as 'a good example of Art Deco architecture'.[45] Similarly, the 'South Propylaeum' in the west wing of the palace (Figure 3.5) (which, indeed, in its present form may largely be Evans's invention) has been described as 'an art deco cinema foyer'.[46] But do these critiques really do justice to the methodological procedure of Evans and his architects? How can we really be sure that what reminds us of modernist architectural features in the 'Palace of Minos' was really influenced by Art Deco architecture? Could it be that such critiques merely reflect free associations of independently similar elements, and are a sort of ritualised demonstration of modernist enlightenment among the current archaeological community? What were Evans's archaeological sources and methodologies in answering the question of what Minoan palatial architecture looked like? In other words, to what extent is Evans's 'Palace of Minos' really 'Minoan'? Let me present here a few observations on this large topic.

In the early 20th century, the main source for the appearance of Cretan Bronze Age architecture was the archaeological evidence, which included architectural remains and images representing architectural motifs.[47] In fact, by the 1920s, a large amount of iconographical information existed, such as that provided by the faience plaques of the Knossos 'Town Mosaic', fragments of terra-cotta models, representations of buildings and settlements on seals, gold cut-outs from Mycenae, and last but not least, frescoes from Knossos, Mycenae, and other Minoan and Mycenaean sites, with many examples often represented in rich polychromy[48] One has to concede, of course, that this evidence belongs to the language of iconography, which operates on principles such as

abbreviation, inconsistencies in scale, and inaccuracy: it can hardly be taken by us *a priori* as reflecting a literal portraiture of real architecture. However, although Aegean iconography presents architecture mostly in encoded form, by combining conventional elements (such as ashlar masonry, columns and pillars, projecting architraves, and superimposed 'horns of consecration'), these images prove to be remarkably trustworthy and realistic when, for example, it is necessary to represent a differentiation between palatial and more general settlement architecture.[49] Moreover, when combined with wooden beams, doors, windows, and a flat roof, Aegean imagery could well be projected onto multi-storey façades above variable ground plans of excavated areas without causing major problems. Furthermore, we should not forget that, by the time of their discovery, areas such as the 'Grand Staircase' and the 'Hall of the Double Axes' in the so-called 'Residential Quarter' in the palace of Knossos were preserved in an excellent state (Figure 3.6),[50] even better than parts of the palace at Phaistos or Quartier Mu at Malia. Consequently, they also provided much primary evidence for obtaining a clear image of elevations in Minoan architecture and their construction principles.

Thus, Evans's evidence for gaining an idea of what Minoan palatial architecture looked like and how it functioned was significant in quantity, remarkably precise, relatively homogeneous, and authentic at least in its main features. This is irrespective of the fact that the study of Aegean architecture has naturally made progress in the course of the past ninety years of research. For our question on the influence (or not) of Art Deco on Minoan reconstructions, what is relevant is the fact that, while some leeway for including modernist or fantastic architectural forms into the reconstruction certainly existed, this was considerably limited by the rich primary and secondary information on authentic Minoan architecture that was already known at that time.

As a consequence, one cannot accept criticisms, such as that raised by the classical architect Josef Durm in 1910, stating that

the form and colour of the Minoan columns constitute 'inventions by A.J. Evans and his engineer … unfortunate wooden columns in form of huge legs of tables or chairs, varnished in red and black … but it might at least give the layman an idea of what it could have been like'.[51] Occasionally, it is not quite clear whether the critiques are aimed at Evans's reconstructions or at Minoan Crete itself, as in the case of Evelyn Waugh's response to the 'barbarities of Minoan culture' in 1929.[52] This might apply also to the assessment by the historian and philosopher Robin George Collingwood – 'no taste, no elegance, no sense of proportion' – at least when compared to the standardised harmony in the architecture of classical antiquity.[53] This attitude reflects what Gerald Cadogan has named 'the anti-classical shock of the Minoans',[54] given the fact that Aegean Bronze Age architecture by no means expressed the classical ideal of proportions and perfection of Classicism.[55] In this context, pejorative statements such as that produced by Erhart Kästner after his visit to Knossos in 1943 become more easily understandable: 'high-buildings … modern and blocky, atrociously cemented, painted in loud polychromy…. Modern, glaringly modern structures are standing beside 4000-year old ones',[56] recalling Collingwood's 'the first impression on the mind of a visitor is that Knossian architecture consists of garages and public lavatories'.[57]

What about our image of Minoan architecture nowadays? This has certainly been enriched by archaeological activities and studies over the last ninety years primarily, although not exclusively, by the excavations at Akrotiri on Thera (Figure 3.7).[58] Although this Cycladic settlement, of course, can hardly be equated with the palace of Knossos, it seems at least to demonstrate that Evans was mainly right in two respects: (1) his approach to reconstructing architectonic façades and interior design by using Aegean iconography was fundamentally sound, since iconography has turned out to be a reliable source of architectural information; (2) it appears that

Evans and his architects, with their 'reconstitutions' of the 'Palace of Minos', came remarkably close to the original appearance of the Knossos palace and Minoan architecture in general. A remarkable number of observations and suggestions made by Evans in the 1920s and even earlier have turned out to be correct, or at least worthy of discussion even today.

This brings us back to the question of Art Deco elements being integrated into the 'Palace of Minos'. Minoan architectonic features that are strongly reminiscent of the avant-garde style of the 1920s are the extensive ashlar façades extended over several floors, the massive and widely projecting architraves, the abundant use of strong wooden beams, and the regular grid pattern of the 'pier-and-door partitions'. All these, however, were correctly recognised by Evans and are well evidenced at Akrotiri and other Aegean Bronze Age sites today.[59]

It might appear tempting to link the Minoan 'polythyra', which were reconstructed in large numbers at Knossos, with the two-level tripartite constructions of Art Deco façades, such as the entrance of a 1925 building on the Boulevard des Capucines in Paris[60] or the Sanatorium Purkersdorf near Vienna by Josef Hoffmann.[61] Nevertheless, by the time of Arthur Evans, there was already excellent archaeological evidence of such 'pier-and-door partitions' made of wooden beams.[62] Moreover, one should avoid the mistake of considering every orthogonal structure in the 'Palace of Minos' as reflecting Art Deco, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, or Piet Mondrian. In order to attribute an influence of modern Art Deco on Minoan architecture, we certainly need clearer evidence.

The positioning of painted friezes above the door lintel might be criticised as being of non-Minoan character and deduced from classical Greek temple architecture.[63] However, in the 'West House' of Akrotiri on Thera, this is exactly the position given to the miniature friezes.[64] Similarly, although

Marc Cameron has correctly remarked that ornamental bands of rosettes and running spirals framing the doors (as reconstructed in the 'Palace of Minos', Figure 3.8) are not attested by actual fresco finds,[65] this feature is well evidenced by, for example, the 'stomia' of Mycenaean tholos and chamber tombs, such as those found at Mycenae (Figure 3.9, Tiryns, Argos, and Prosymna, which must have been known to Evans.[66] This decorative feature, therefore, may well have been absent from Minoan palatial architecture, but its conjecture and possible derivation from Mycenaean tomb architecture by Evans was based on logical reasoning. We face a similar problem in the case of the architectural type known as the 'Tripartite shrine', which is amply evidenced iconographically, but even today can hardly be identified in real architecture.[67] Although Evans's reconstruction of such a 'Tripartite shrine' façade at Knossos may appear rash, and its form highly speculative, it makes reasonable use of Minoan iconography. As for the 'Dolphin fresco' from the 'Queen's Megaron' at Knossos,[68] doubts have been cast both on its overall reconstruction and position on the wall (Figure 3.8). Sinclair Hood, Robert Koehl, and others have proposed, instead, that this was a floor painting showing a maximum number of two dolphins.[69] Over a decade ago, however, painted plaster fragments belonging to a wall painting, and showing at least seven dolphins, were retrieved in a building at late Mycenaean Gla,[70] showing that Evans's reconstruction was perfectly plausible.

Without any doubt, Evans's and Gilliéron's reconstruction of the stucco relief fragments of the so-called 'Lily Prince' (essentially going back to c.1905) causes major iconographical problems and has been strongly criticised since the 1960s.[71] Nevertheless, from a methodological point of view,[72] we may ask whether the putting together of the fragments of two arms, two feet, a torso, and a headgear (Figure 3.10) really does deserve the modern criticism of being 'largely a speculative

invention'.[73] Cannot this critique also apply (and to an even greater extent) to reconstructions of this material as a boxing scene or a multi-figural scene consisting of a god, a sphinx, and a priestess, as proposed in the 1980s?[74] Maria Shaw's recent comparison of the graphical reconstruction and 'animation' of the Tell el-Dab' a fresco fragments on the one hand, and Evans's understanding of his 'reconstitutions' at Knossos on the other, clearly demonstrates how questions of restoration and reconstruction remain complex, controversial, and timeless.[75]

Although the fragments of the 'Crocus-gatherer Fresco' from Knossos were definitely erroneously reconstructed as a 'blue boy' by Evans and É. Gilliéron, père,[76] the fresco uncovered in Xeste 3 at Akrotiri in 1973 provided clear evidence for the theme of flower-picking young girls.[77] Thus, accusing Evans of 'fashioning a picture of Minoan life that conformed to contemporary tastes'[78] (through examples such as this) is incorrect as applied to both Evans's (and his restorers') methodology and to Cretan Bronze Age iconography in general. To put it in other words, to accuse Evans and the Gilliérons of being guided by Art Nouveau sensitivities in their reconstruction of Minoan mural paintings would imply that Marc Cameron, Maria Shaw, Anne Chapin, the actual restorers in Akrotiri, and many others working on Aegean Bronze Age landscape scenes are also 'fashioning' their iconographical material according to the 'Art Nouveau' fashion – a charge that can hardly be sustained. It appears more likely that the solution of the problem of how to interpret iconographical similarities lies in the fact that several aspects of the Art Nouveau anticipated what was found in Crete from 1900 onwards.[79]

Some of the criticisms reported above also imply an element of megalomania in Evans's reconstructions, but it appears that this trait was not absent from the Bronze Age palace(s) of Knossos either. One only needs to imagine the original appearance of the so-called 'Great East Hall', with its extensive

stucco relief images showing over life-size male and female figures, bulls, and griffins in monumental friezes.[80] Since, fortunately (or unfortunately?), these have not been subjected to a reconstruction by Evans, they are not famous today, even among Aegean scholars. Moreover, some plaster fragments of this stucco relief programme clearly testify to the existence of large-scale images in two superimposed register scenes.[81] Although such a scheme was rightly criticised in the case of the 'Corridor of Procession',[82] it is by no means an 'Egyptianising' invention by Evans, and clearly existed in other parts of the palace of Knossos.

The colonnades as reconstructed in the 'Palace of Minos' have been criticised as being projections of classical architecture.[83] However, recent studies by Joseph Shaw at Kommos and Knossos, as well as by Martin Schmid in the palace of Malia, have brought to light the existence of further broad, remarkably extensive colonnades flanking the palatial courts.[84] The fragile and decorative form of the Minoan column tapering downwards, which was initially often mistrusted, belongs without any doubt to actual Aegean Bronze Age architecture. However, when Evans, in his reconstructions at Knossos, chose exclusively columns with plain (or fluted) monochrome shafts as documented by iconography, one might ask whether more vividly decorated columns could also have existed, since columns with spiral and zigzag decorations as well as capitals in the form of papyrus blossoms can be found, e.g., on the façade of the 'Atreus Tholos' at Mycenae.[85] If such types existed in actual architecture, which is likely in my opinion, the palace of Knossos would certainly be the best candidate. Thus, Knossian architecture could have conveyed an even more varied, garish, and baroque impression than Evans's 'Palace of Minos'.

Furthermore, Evans has been rightly criticised for reconstructing the entire outer west façade of the palace in ashlar masonry, although only the socle zone, made of gypsum

orthostates, was preserved.[86] On one hand, this point does deserve criticism, but on the other, one should note that this reconstruction conforms to genuine Minoan architecture, as demonstrated, e.g., by the West façade of the palace of Phaistos and the Xestai at Akrotiri, with their ashlar masonry extending to several courses and floors.[87]

Finally, one architectural feature strongly reminiscent of Art Deco buildings is the curved wall at the northeast corner of the Throne Room Complex at Knossos (Figure 3.11).[88] Curved corners are very common in Art Deco buildings and highly unusual in Minoan Neopalatial architecture, but the Knossian corner belongs to the original architectural evidence of the Protopalatial period and is by no means a later addition by Evans. Thus, it could well be that this particular feature of Art Deco is coincidentally similar to actual Minoan practice.[89] My impression is that an assessment of Evans's 'Palace of Minos' as 'restored according to the architectural fashion of the day',[90] i.e. the 1920s, may be valid, at best, only for the multi-storey construction, with the 'Piano Nobile' above the 'Throne room' (Figure 3.11). It remains questionable, though, whether this really reflects fashionable Art Deco tendencies or merely architectural features linked to functionalist purposes.[91]

The topic of Evans's reconstructions would certainly deserve a more systematic and detailed study than could be presented here. Still, one can summarise here that, while Evans's 'Palace of Minos' does show heterogeneous elements of different periods combined into one static ideal conception,[92] the image it conveys is undoubtedly not as fictitious as some modern critics have suggested. It is true that, when we compare the original plans by Theodore Fyfe with Evans's later plans and reconstructions, sometimes we gain the impression that the latter were conceived as virtual examples of Minoan-looking architecture, which corresponded only in part to the original rooms and their archaeological record.[93] Nevertheless, what might be perceived as being influenced by the Art Deco style,

in fact turns out to belong to authentic Minoan style architecture. The modern assessment of the 'Palace of Minos' as an Art Deco creation can therefore hardly be substantiated. In fact, the influence of classical architecture in some drawings by Piet de Jong appears much more obvious, but this has not been integrated into the restorations, as far as I can see.[94] From all of the above discussion, therefore, one might come to the (absurd) conclusion that *if* Akrotiri on Thera (Figure 3.7) had been excavated in the 1920s by a very young Spyridon Marinatos, we would have to talk of a forged settlement combining elements of Art Deco buildings (of Bauhaus style?)[95] decorated with well-preserved Art Nouveau paintings, and also partly based on traditional Cycladic village architecture.

Alternative attempts at reconstructing Minoan architecture

When we examine alternative attempts at reconstructing Minoan palatial architecture contemporary to those by Evans at Knossos, they allow us to recognize two issues: (1) in most aspects, they come very close to those by Evans; and (2) when compared to our present knowledge, they show more obvious weaknesses. Recently, Gerald Cadogan has published a remarkable 1904 sketch of a Neo-Minoan style building by the Danish architect Halvor Bagge, commissioned by Rahmizade Bahaeddin, and realised in similar form one year later.[96] With its spiral frieze positioned on the outer façade, it fits neither Minoan architectural principles nor Evans's later reconstructions. Moreover, in contrast to Evans's conceptualisation, Bagge's drawing is clearly influenced by contemporary classical architecture and most obviously predates the Art Deco style. Enrico Stefani's reconstruction of Late Minoan buildings at Ayia Triada, drawn between 1910 and 1914, also clearly shows classical features, with its system of attics and verandas.[97] A 1921 drawing by the archaeologist Camillo Praschniker is similarly enlightening, since it presents an alternative reconstruction of a part of the 'Queen's

Megaron' at Knossos (Figure 3.12).[98] It is interesting that Praschniker made reference to Evans's idea only in part; and where he deviates from it, he is clearly mistaken, as shown, e.g., in the position of the columns, pillar, and fresco. In reconstructions such as this, the influence of contemporary architectural style is quite obvious. This applies also to Fausto Franco's 1932 reconstruction of the north part of the palace of Phaistos (Figure 3.13), in which we can recognize his uncertainties about the entablature, and where it is also likely that the large plain surfaces and the grid forms derive from Art Deco sensitivities.[99]

What would be the result if we were to heed the advice of René Treuil – 'Tuer le père! Oubliez Evans!'[100] – with regard to our image of the palace of Knossos? The outcome could be reconstructions such as that proposed by Allan Klynne in 1998 (Figure 3.14), which has been questioned even by colleagues who have strongly criticised Evans's.[101] This proposed reconstruction exhibits an extreme scepticism and minimalism with regard to several archaeological, and especially iconographical, sources; furthermore, it shows a strong tendency towards a conceptual primitivism, while being modernist in its integration of, and over-emphasis on, recently published hypotheses (e.g. the granaries on roof-tops)[102] in order to demonstrate the supposed current state of our knowledge. In my opinion, evaluations such as Louise Hitchcock's 'a concrete futuristic vision of a timeless legendary past constructed in a Victorian present'[103] hardly deal with the Knossos of Arthur Evans, and they need to be scrutinised as critically as the 'Palace of Minos' itself. Hitchcock's comment was directed against Evans's 'reconstitutions', but I think it is much more applicable to Klynne's proposal (except, of course, for the 'Victorian present'). The subtitle of my chapter is deliberately as provocative and exaggerated as statements such as those made by Treuil and Hitchcock. Of course, Evans was not always right[104] – even if I have to admit that the content of my chapter may appear to some as belonging (at least in

part) to Hitchcock's and Koudounaris's category of 'apologia' of Sir Arthur.[105]

Conclusion

To summarise and conclude: after the first period of 'Cretomania' immediately connected with the initial boom of excavations in Minoan Crete at the beginning of the 20th century, there followed a second 'Cretomania' in the 1920s and 1930s that was strongly dominated by continuity with regard to typical motifs and architectural features adopted from Bronze Age Crete. Art Deco, Cubism, and related artistic trends of this period, however, favoured a relationship with, or reception of ornaments and images of, the Aegean Bronze Age to a much lesser degree than in the preceding period of the Art Nouveau/Jugendstil, with its very distinct 'philosophy of design'. Instead, during the 1920s and 1930s, we can observe an increased interest on the part of modern artists and architects in Minoan architectonic motifs, such as the idiosyncratic form of the Aegean column.

But what about Evans? Was the prevalent image of the 'Palace of Minos' only his own work? Sam Wide's 1901 characterisation of the Late Bronze age Cretan elite as being dominated by a 'refined "fin de siècle" mood'[106] strongly warns us against attributing this kind of assessment of Bronze Age Crete, then and possibly also nowadays, to the vision or imagination of one man only, i.e. Arthur Evans. The image of Minoan Crete as being dominated by representations of landscapes with multi-coloured flowers and omnipresent spiral ornaments is not a purely fictitious one created by him. Thus, Bronze Age Crete could well have been more 'Minoan' than we are inclined to admit, given our automatic critical attitude nowadays towards past generations of researchers and research.

Of course, Evans's irreversible 'reconstitutions' in Knossos are one-sided in their purpose and can by no means be defended. With regard to the architectural forms chosen by him, however, these not only corresponded well with the

information available at the time, but they also came remarkably close to our current knowledge of Minoan palatial architecture, at least along general lines. Ironically, one can largely gain the impression that Akrotiri on Thera comes as close to Art Deco architecture as Evans's 'Palace of Minos'. This observation should warn us against overrating the influence of contemporary architectural styles on his reconstructions. Evans's 'Palace of Minos' might be characterised as an 'Art Deco palace' only in the sense that clarity of forms constituted an essential principle of both Minoan palatial architectonic façades and Art Deco. Not only did the avant-garde architects of the 1920s have nothing attractive to offer to contemporary reconstructions of Knossos, but also the available archaeological and iconographical sources of Minoan Crete did not make it necessary to adopt any fundamental inspiration from modern architecture.

To assess visual reception among artists, designers, architects, restorers, and archaeologists is a complicated matter, and we should all try to overcome the temptation of projecting hasty judgements upon the concepts of our scholarly forebears based on superficial similarities. It is the irony of history that many examples of Minoan iconography were retrieved and restored during the period of the Art Nouveau, and that Evans's main reconstructions were conducted mainly during the period of Art Deco. I want to stress, however, that the aim of this chapter is not a revisionist rescue of Arthur Evans's ideas: this is neither possible nor necessary. Undoubtedly, Evans's work exhibits the problems of any pioneer. The question worth discussing among archaeologists, in my opinion, is whether our criticism is valid or not. With regard to the influence of contemporary Art Deco style on his restorations, I can hardly substantiate this suggestion, even if we all are children of our time – something that applies to Evans, his restorers, and architects, as well as to ourselves today.

Notes

1 I am very grateful to the organisers of the November 2013 Cretomania workshop for their invitation and hospitality. I also want to thank Pietro Militello and Nicoletta Momigliano for their comments, and Sarah Cormack for revising the English of my paper.

2 McDonald & Thomas 1990, pp. 113–169.

3 See, especially, Leshko 1969; Bammer 1990; Farnoux 1996a, 2003; Blakolmer 1999, 2004, 2006a; De Craene 2008; Caloi 2010, 2011.

4 Farnoux 2003; Blakolmer 2009, 2010, especially pp. 138–142.

5 Waser 1925, p. 254 ('Kunst der Unruhe, des Exzentrischen, der spielerischen Zerstreuung').

6 See especially Haiko 1994, 1996, pp. 407–409.

7 Moravánszky 1988; Haiko 1996, pp. 413–417; Weitmann 2001; Wappenschmidt 2004, pp. 123–132.

8 Sekler 1986; Noever & Pokorný 2010, pp. 128–131.

9 Hines 2003, p. 51.

10 Hines 2003, p. 14.

11 Farnoux 1996a, pp. 115–120; Blakolmer 1999, especially pp. 489–490; 2006a, pp. 224–233.

12 Picard 1932, p. 6. See also Farnoux 1995, p. 332; 1996a, p. 107; 2003, p. 86.

13 Cf. Momigliano, Chapter 5 in this volume.

14 Haiko 1996, p. 408.

15 Cf. Chapter 5 by Momigliano and Chapter 7 by Boucher in this volume.

16 Verreth 2012, especially fig. on p. 174. See, in general, Renger & Solomon 2013.

17 Farnoux 2003, pp. 37–38, fig. 4.

18 Reichel 1907; Bilang 1980; Rubin 1984; Brus 1992; Blakolmer 2004, pp. 54–56. Cf. also Chapter 4 by Caloi in this volume.

19 Farnoux 2003, pp. 37–38, fig. 3. See also Cadogan 2004, p. 543.

20 See esp. Gill & Chippindale 1993; Renfrew 1993, 1995, pp. 168–175; Marthari 2001.

21 Cf. Wilkinson 1981, pp. 280–281, 288–289, 303–304; Gill & Chippindale 1993, esp. p. 605; Chippindale & Gill 1995, especially pp. 131–132; Renfrew 1995, pp. 168–185; Hendrix 1998, p. 6; Stergiopoulos 2002; Chryssovitsanou 2003, 2006; Blakolmer 2004, pp. 50–51; Bach 2006.

22 Picard 1930, p. 97. See also Tolis 2006, pp. 204–205.

23 See Fanelli 1992, p. 275, fig. 583; Farnoux 2003, pp. 38–39; Blakolmer 2004, pp. 49–50.

24 Farnoux 2003, p. 39, fig. 9; Momigliano, Chapter 5 in this volume, figs. 5.11–5.22.

25 For the reception of Minoan motifs by Bakst starting around 1908, see also Blakolmer 1999, pp. 499–500; Farnoux 2003, p. 39; Momigliano 2013, and especially Chapter 5 in this volume.

26 Cadogan 2004, p. 538, fig. 49.1; Markatou 2008, pp. 316–318, figs. 8–9, 11; Blakolmer 2009, pp. 29–30. See also Philippides & Sgouros, Chapter 2 in this volume.

27 Palyvou 2003, pp. 119–120, fig. 15.9; Papadopoulos 2005, p. 121, fig. 12; Philippides & Sgouros, Chapter 2 in this volume.

28 Nevertheless, there exist several informative and critical studies, such as Brown 1989; Papadopoulos 1997; Palyvou 2003. There is also an unpublished PhD dissertation by P. Kienzle on 'Conservation and Reconstruction at the Palace of Minos at Knossos' (University of York, 1998).

29 Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, p. 55.

30 See Hood 2003, p. 143.

31 See especially Giesecke 1984–85; Schmidt 1993, pp. 100–107; Harrington 1999; Hitchcock 2000, especially pp. 29–33; Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, pp. 40–58; McEnroe 2002b; Hood 2003, especially pp. 143–145; Palyvou 2003.

32 For Piet de Jong (1887–1967), see Hood 1998, especially pp. 225–270; Hood & Hood 2000, pp. 213–215; Palyvou 2003, p. 209; Papadopoulos 2007.

33 Quoted in Karetsou 2004, p. 547. See also Lapatin 2002, p. 127; Gere 2009, p. 106. See, in general, Evans 1927.

34 McEnroe 2002a, p. 69 and 2002b; Papadopoulos 2005; Sherratt 2009, especially p. 642.

35 See Palyvou 2003, p. 208.

36 Horwite 1981, pp. 197–209; Hood & Hood 2000, p. 213; McEnroe 2002b; Palyvou 2003, pp. 222–224.

37 Evans 1904–05, p. 26 with fig. 12. Quoted also in Harrington 1999, p. 36. The apology by Karo 1959, p. 26 ('für den Laien, der gerade in Knossos ein besonderes Recht auf Belehrung hat') sounds almost identical. See further Sherratt 2009, pp. 624, 639.

38 Quoted in Farnoux 1996b, p. 187. See also Harrington 1999, p. 35.

39 Quoted in MacGillivray 2000, p. 293.

40 Praschniker 1921; Karo 1959, p. 18; Horwite 1981, p. 201.

41 Quoted in MacGillivray 2000, p. 292. See also Evans 1927.

42 See, e.g., Farnoux 1996b, especially pp. 110–111; MacGillivray 2000, especially pp. 291–294; Palyvou 2003, pp. 218–219, 223; Cadogan 2004, p. 538; Gere 2009, especially pp. 105–111.

43 Papadopoulos 1997, p. 110. Also quoted in Hitchcock 2000, p. 32; Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, p. 51; Lapatin 2002, p. 131; Militello 2005–08, p. 1187.

44 Papadopoulos 2005, p. 91.

45 Papadopoulos 1997, p. 116; 2005. See also Klynne 1998, p. 208.

46 For quotation: Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, p. 53; for Evans's inventive reconstruction of the 'South Propylaeum': Hiller 1980; Giesecke 1984–85, pp. 17–19; Hitchcock 2000, pp. 75–76; Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, pp. 44–46. See further Militello 2008; Palyvou 2009; McEnroe 2010, pp. 72–73.

47 See also Fyfe 1903.

48 For representations of architecture in Aegean Bronze Age iconography, see Cameron & Hood 1971; Boulotis 1990; Schoep 1994; Krattenmaker 1995; Nörling 1995; Rethemiotakis & Dimopoulou 2003; Palyvou 2005a.

49 See especially Pavúk 2002.

50 See in general Papadopoulos 1997, pp. 105–108; Shaw 2011.

51 Durm 1910, pp. 54–55: 'Erfindungen von A.J. Evans und seines Technikers … unglückselige Holzsäulen in der Form von riesigen Tisch-oder Stuhlbeinen, rot und schwarz lackiert … aber es mag immerhin bei einem Laien die Vorstellung erwecken, daß es so gewesen sein könnte'.

52 Waugh 1930, quoted in Lapatin 2002, p. 120. See also Fitton 2002, pp. 208–209; Cadogan 2004, p. 541.

53 Quoted in MacGillivray 2000, p. 294. See also Fitton 2002, p. 210.

54 Cadogan 2004, p. 541.

55 Cf. Wappenschmidt 2004, p. 128.

56 Kästner 1975, p. 122 ('Hochbauten … neu und blockhaft, grausam zementiert, mit grellbunten Farben bemalt … Neues, Grellneues, steht neben viertausendjährigem Altem'). Quoted also in Schmidt 1993, pp. 105, 107.

57 Quoted in MacGillivray 2000, pp. 293–294.

58 See, especially, Palyvou 1999; 2005b; Hitchcock 2000; Shaw 2009; McEnroe 2010.

59 See, e.g., Graham 1969, especially pp. 25–26; Palyvou 2003, pp. 226–227; Blakolmer 2008, especially pp. 108–115. For concepts of Aegean Bronze Age architecture preceding those of Evans, see Polychronopoulou 1999, pp. 321–337.

60 Duncan 1988, p. 176.

61 Sekler 1986; Noever & Pokorný 2010, pp. 92–95.

62 For the Minoan 'polythyron', see Driessen 1982; 1989–90; Marinatos & Hägg 1986; Nordfeldt 1987; Palyvou 2005b, pp. 144–145, 149–152; Shaw 2009, pp. 91–108, 181–186; 2011.

63 Cf. the alternative proposal by Cameron 1987, pp. 325, 327, fig. 11. See also Cameron 1976, especially pp. 30–31, 33, fig. 1.

64 Morgan 1988, pp. 4–7; Televantou 1994, pp. 165–172, fig. 170, pl. 9. Cf. also Shaw 2005.

65 Cameron 1974, I, p. 207.

66 See the lists of Mycenaean painted tomb façades given by Long 1974, p. 53, n. 77; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1987, pp. 152–153, pl. XLV; Sgouritsa 2011. Cf. also the rosette border frieze (of a doorway?) in a mural painting from the Cult Centre of Mycenae: Rehak 1992, pp. 44–45, fig. Xa.

67 Shaw 1978; Hitchcock 2000, pp. 102–109; Alusík 2003; McEnroe 2010, p. 73.

68 Evans 1921, pp. 542–546; 1930, pp. 377–379.

69 Cameron 1974, I, p. 217; Hood 1978, p. 71; Koehl 1986, especially pp. 411–116 with n. 40.

70 Boulotis 2000, pp. 1132, 1149, fig. 20; Iakovidis 2001, pp. 71–74, 140, col. pl. VIII.

71 See Cameron 1970, p. 165; Niemeier 1987, especially pp. 774–775. Sherratt 2001. For the archaeological context of the plaster relief fragments, see Momigliano & Hood 1994, especially pp. 142–146.

72 Cf. Marinatos 2010.

73 Farnoux 1996b, p. 61.

74 Coulomb 1979, 1981, especially pp. 34–37, fig. 5, 1990; Niemeier 1987, 1988. For an alternative reconstruction which comes close to the initial one by Evans, see Shaw 2004. See further Marinatos 2007.

75 Shaw 2009, p. 472.

76 Evans 1921, pp. 125, 266, pl. IV; 1928, pp. 354, 452, 469, 728; Platon & Davaras 1960, p. 504; Immerwahr 1990, pp. 21, 41–42, 162, 170 (Kn No. 1), pls. 10–11.

77 Doumas 1992, p. 152–167, figs. 116–130; Chapin 2001.

78 See, e.g., Lapatin 2002, pp. 133–134.

79 Blakolmer 1999, pp. 489–501, 2004, pp. 53–58, 2006a, pp. 224–233.

80 Evans 1930, pp. 481–525; Kaiser 1976, esp. pp. 287–293; Hägg 1995; Blakolmer 2002, 2006b; Shaw & Lowe 2002; Hiller 2006.

81 Evans 1921, pp. 687–688, fig. 506; 1930, pp. 513–514, fig. 359; Fyfe 1903, p. 116, figs. 28–29; Kaiser 1976, p. 281, fig. 457.

82 Boulotis 1987, p. 148.

83 Klynne 1998, p. 218 (‘like a stoa from a Hellenistic agora’).

84 Shaw 1987; Palyvou 2002, pp. 172–173, pls. LVII–LVIII; Shaw & Lowe 2002; Schmid 2006.

85 See, especially, Platon & Pararas 1991; Hiller 2009, pp. 298–300.

86 Hägg 1987; Klynne 1998, pp. 216–218; Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, p. 47; Hood 2003, p. 144; Shaw 2009, pp. 62–63.

87 Pernier & Banti 1951, pp. 23–40; Palyvou 1999, pp. 610–611, 2005b, pp. 114119, 180–181; Shaw 2009, pp. 59–79.

88 Evans 1921, pp. 903–904, figs. 877–878; p. 922; Hood 1995, pp. 405–406; McEnroe 2010, p. 52. See, further, Momigliano 1992.

89 Blakolmer 1999, pp. 489–501, 2004, pp. 53–58, 2006a, pp. 224–233; De Craene 2008, especially pp. 65–67; Caloi 2011, pp. 28–32.

90 Papadopoulos 1997, p. 110. Also quoted in Lapatin 2002, p. 131.

91 For this last point, see also Gere 2009, p. 109.

92 See also Papadopoulos 1997, p. 115; Klynne 1998, p. 210; Driessen 1999, p. 124; Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, p. 49.

93 Cf. Giesecke 1984–85.

94 See, e.g., the drawing of the throne area in the ‘Hall of Double Axes’: Evans 1930, p. 337, fig. 224. See also Palyvou 2003, especially pp. 212–213. For Piet de Jong, see *supra* (n. 32).

95 A recent reconstruction of the palace of Knossos has been compared with ‘20th-century architecture in the tradition from W. Gropius and the Bauhaus to later

buildings in the functional style' by Klynne 1998, p. 211.

96 Cadogan 2004, pp. 538–540, figs. 49.2, 49.3.

97 Italian Archaeological School of Athens 1985, pp. 114–116, figs. 170–174; La Rosa 2003, pp. 41–42, figs. 17–19.

98 Praschniker 1921, p. 6 with no. 1, pl. 1. Obviously, the sketch by Praschniker is essentially based on the reconstruction of the 'Queen's Megaron' by Ch. Doll from 1908: cf. an early photograph of the reconstruction of this room reproduced by MacGillivray 2000, pl. after p. 280.

99 Italian Archaeological School of Athens 1985, p. 82, fig. 101. For Fausto Franco, see La Rosa 1995, p. 89.

100 Treuil 2003, especially p. 34; 2006.

101 Klynne 1998, especially p. 223, fig. 9. Cf. Driessen 1999; Hitchcock 1999.

102 Strasser 1997.

103 Hitchcock 2000, p. 29; Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, pp. 40, 42.

104 However, cf. Evans's architect Christian Doll: 'He [Evans] was never wrong'. Quoted in MacGillivray 2000, p. 292.

105 Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002, especially pp. 46–51.

106 Wide 1901, p. 257: 'raffinierte fin de siècle-Stimmung'.

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PART II

Cretomania in the visual and performing arts, and other cultural practices

Chapter 4

The Minoan woman as the Oriental woman: Mariano Fortuny's Knossos scarves and Ruth St. Denis[1]

Ilaria Caloi

> La tradizione mediterranea e la fantasia orientale, cozzanti invano nelle tendenze dello stil nuovo, sono qui finalmente unificate; la convenzione classica e il delirio Liberty sono ambedue oltrepassati col ritorno alle origini.
>
> (Borgese 1907)

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the reception of Minoan culture by the Spanish artist Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, an important representative of European fashion in the first half of the 20th century. I focus on his textile creations known as Knossos scarves, which he created from 1906 to 1928 and printed with Minoan motifs. The Knossos scarves represent Fortuny's interpretation of Minoan art, and especially of the Minoan woman. He chose American pioneer dancer Ruth St. Denis to model his Knossos scarves during their official 1907 presentation in Berlin. Ruth St. Denis was touring Germany at the time, performing her Oriental dances, and more specifically her dance *Radha*. Fortuny's choice of this 'Oriental' woman to introduce his Knossos scarves, representing a new and modern mixture of asceticism and sensuality, partly reflects ideas of the Minoan woman that archaeologists and art historians had created at the beginning of the early 20th century and, in turn, reflects modern concerns about female sexuality and the 'Woman Question'.[2]

In agreement with Christine Morris, who has recently suggested that 'the Minoans could be represented *both* as European and Oriental, depending on time and context' as well as 'thoroughly modern',[3] I argue in this chapter that in the context of Ruth St. Denis's performances, Fortuny's Minoans, and especially his Minoan woman, were clearly posited as Oriental.

Mariano Fortuny's Knossos scarves

Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo was one of the first European modern artists to display a conscious interest in Minoan Crete, even if he seems to have never visited the island. He first produced textiles inspired by Minoan Crete, which he called Knossos scarves ('scialli Knossos') in 1906. Fortuny was born in Granada in 1871 to Orientalist painter Mariano Fortuny y Marsal and Cecilia de Madrazo. He moved to Rome in 1872, and to Paris in 1874 after his father's death. His true home, however, was Venice, where he established himself in 1889 and where he died in 1949. He lived first in Palazzo Martinengo and later in Palazzo Pesaro Orfei, which eventually became known as the Fortuny Museum.[4] In 1924, he married Henriette Nigrin, who was also an important collaborator in his work.

Mariano Fortuny was both painter and photographer, excelling in lighting and stage design, but from 1906 he devoted himself mainly to textile production. He often worked in Berlin and Paris, the two main capitals of early 20th-century's avant-garde movements, which attracted many intellectuals and artists from all over the world. In Berlin, he took part in Max Reinhardt's theatrical reformation, creating new lighting systems such as his famous 'Cupola';[5] he collaborated with the Austrian poet and librettist Hugo von Hofmannsthal; and he met the American pioneers of modern dance, Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis. In Paris, he worked both as stage designer and couturier. In the French capital, he also collaborated with modern fashion designers such as Paul Poiret, and in 1913 he opened a 'salon de mode' on the Champs Élysées.[6] It is plausible that his interest in Minoan Crete started in Paris, the

capital of 'Cretomania', where many intellectuals and artists were introduced to and/or redeployed images from this ancient culture.[7]

As couturier, Fortuny invented an innovative pleating process for silks and created velvets, brocades, and tapestries reproducing Italian Renaissance and Baroque textiles. For his dresses, in contrast, he was inspired mostly by the original Oriental garments that he had inherited from his father, who had a substantial collection of ancient textiles.[8] Thus, many of his creations imitated the Japanese kimono, the Arabic abayas and burnous, the Moroccan djeballah and kaftans, and the Turkish dolman.[9] His most famous creations, however, are the 'delphos gown' and the 'Knossos scarf'. The former is a monochrome, pleated silk robe named after the famous statue of the Charioteer of Delphi, dating to the early Classical Greek period.[10] For his one- and two-piece versions of the delphos gown, however, Fortuny was actually inspired by both the Charioteer of Delphi and the well-known Archaic Greek *korai*, which came to light during systematic excavations in Greece during the second half of the 19th century.[11]

The Knossos scarf is a large silk shawl, rectangular in shape (4 × 1 m.) and printed with a variety of colourful motifs inspired by Minoan Crete (Figures 4.1 and 4.2).[12] On his Knossos scarves, Fortuny reproduced Minoan decorative elements from academic books and journals published by the archaeologists, who were bringing Minoan civilisation to light on Crete at the beginning of the 20th century. For example, in his notebooks, preserved in the Archive of the Fortuny Museum, there are some sketches showing some Minoan motifs that he copied from Arthur Evans's 1906 paper, 'The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos'.[13] In his notebook entitled 'Descriptions et Illustrations', Fortuny also stated that Angelo Mosso's 1907 book *Escursioni nel Mediterraneo* inspired his Knossos scarves, thus named because they were decorated with 'flowers and seaweeds that wrap around the very ancient vases found in the

island of Candia'.[14] In fact, for his creations he copied motifs depicted on vases and also frescoes found at Minoan sites, such as Knossos, Phaistos, and Ayia Triada, and published not only by Evans and Mosso, but also by other archaeologists such as L. Pernier, L. Savignoni, R.C. Bosanquet, D.G. Hogarth, R.M. Dawkins, and G. Maraghiannis.[15]

For his Knossos scarves, Fortuny used Minoan abstract, floral, and marine motifs, such as the octopus, argonaut, and seaweeds.[16] As already discussed by other scholars,[17] his special interest in abstract and natural elements, such as spirals, flowers, and plants, reflects the predilection of early 20th-century Art Nouveau artists for natural environment and abstract patterns. The paradoxical analogies between Minoan art and Art Nouveau stimulated Fortuny and other artists to use Minoan motifs for modern creations.[18] For example, the Russian Léon Bakst used, for his theatrical costumes, some of the same Minoan floral motifs (e.g. lilies and ivy leaves) employed by Fortuny on his scarves.[19]

Fortuny's particular interest in marine motifs, and especially for the octopus and seaweeds, seems also connected to his fascination with Japanese art, evident in his Japanese-inspired creations, such as 'kimono' coats, printed with Japanese patterns.[20]

Fascination with Japanese culture, known as 'Japonisme', is a typical phenomenon of the late 19th and early 20th century.[21] After the 1853 reopening of Japanese ports to international trade with the Western world, a new wave of Japanese imports, mostly porcelain and woodblock prints (called 'ukiyo-e') made by the famous 18th- and 19th-century painters Katsushika Hokusai and Kitagawa Utamaro, flooded Europe. Japanese art became an important source of inspiration for Impressionists, Post-Impressionists, and Art Nouveau artists.[22] At the beginning of the 20th century, the new interest in Japan, as well as in Indian and other Far Eastern cultures, grew as a result of universal exhibitions and the activities of art dealers

(e.g. Samuel Bing), who stimulated exotic fashions and the collecting of prints and artefacts from the Far East. The centre for the European mania for Far Eastern art was Paris. The remarkable 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris included 'Le Tour du Monde' pavilion with Khmer temples, an Indian pavilion, and a Chinese pagoda, as well as performances by Japanese dancer Yada Sacco.[23]

It is relevant here that some Minoan archaeologists also spoke of the 'modernity' of Minoan art, comparing it with the splendid decoration and manufacture of Japanese works. Bosanquet, for example, in a 1904 paper, compared the manufacture of a Minoan import found at Mycenae to a Japanese product: 'the triumph of this new style of marine design … in the exquisite steatite basket from Mycenae with its almost Japanese carving of an octopus among rocks'.[24] Similarly, in 1907 Mosso compared Minoan Kamares ware to Japanese porcelain: 'Few wares exceed Kamares ware in artistic value, it is wonderful for its decoration and delicate manufacture. The distinguishing feature and luxury of this ware was its lightness, which resembles egg-shells or Japanese porcelain'.[25]

Far Eastern art evoked the same whiff of modernity, magic, and the exotic that archaeologists had recognised in the recently discovered Minoan art. In his 1907 introduction to Maraghiannis's book *Antiquités Crétoises*. L. Pernier wrote: 'Dès cette année, un nouveau monde, à peine entrevu jusque alors, a se révéler, avec toute la magie d'un mirage'.[26]

The modernity that archaeologists identified in the manufacture and decoration of Minoan artefacts was also recognised in the Minoan woman depicted in Cretan frescoes and figurines. Indeed, in 1902 the archaeologist, art historian, and critic Edmond Pottier commented on the Minoan woman depicted on the Knossos fresco that he dubbed 'La Parisienne' as follows: 'un mélange d'archaïsme naïf et de modernisme pimenté'.[27] In 1907, Mosso commented on the elegance of the Minoan women wearing 'modern skirts' ('moderne sottane')

and having 'provocative breasts' ('petto provocante').[28] The Minoan woman, with her 'modern' eroticism as indicated by her exposed breasts, reflects the concept of the modern woman constructed in 19th- and early 20th-century Europe, which somehow partly coincides with the European image of the Oriental woman: a mixture of purity and seduction, of spirituality and lack of sexual restraint.[29] The sexual allusions to the Oriental woman largely originated from the images of seductive 'courtesans' depicted on the Japanese 'ukiyo-e' that flooded European markets at the time, and from the lascivious dance of the seven veils performed by the Jewish princess Salome. The latter became popular thanks to Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (1893), which was inspired by Gustave Moreau's painting *Salome Dancing Before Herod* (1876). Oscar Wilde's work, in turn, inspired Richard Strauss's *Salome*, which premiered in Germany in 1905. As representative of the 'femme fatale de la fin de siècle', Salome was also one of the most represented subjects in painting, as demonstrated by works by Edvard Munch, Alphons Mucha, Gustave Klimt, and Arthur Beardsley.

Fortuny's creation of the Knossos scarf follows this Zeitgeist, both for its printed Minoan decorations recalling Art Nouveau and Japanese motifs, and for the 'en vogue' design of the garment. The choice to produce a large and multi-purpose scarf reflects the fascination with veils, shawls, and cloaks shared by contemporary artists. The Knossos scarves recall the Japanese garments worn by the attractive Japanese women depicted on the imported 'ukiyo-e',[30] as well as the Japanese inspired veils worn by Salome in Arthur Beardsley's spicy illustrations produced for Oscar Wilde's *Salome*.[31]

The Knossos scarves also recall the large silk veils used by the American pioneers of modern dance working in Berlin and Paris, such as the aforementioned Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis, as well as Loïe Fuller.[32] Noteworthy were the latter's Parisian performances, in which she used large and transparent silk veils animated by long canes, which made the veils wave,

rotate, and swing, thus creating floral and animal images.[33] Her most famous performance is the *Danse Serpentine*, which was much appreciated by Fortuny.[34] Dancing with veils, made famous by Loïe Fuller, was also used by Ruth St. Denis in her exotic performances inspired by Egypt, India, and Japan (see below). The adoption of veils to cover and bare the feminine body became one of the most frequently used tools of modern dancers to amplify their bodily movements and expression, and helped to create a new vocabulary of movement to express a fresh femininity, free from 19th-century European moral and social conventions.

Fortuny's Knossos scarves were first produced and presented in Paris during the inauguration of the private theatre that he had built for the Comtesse Martine de Béarn in 1906. On this occasion, of which one photograph survives (Figure 4.1), dancers wore his Knossos scarves in a variety of ways: for example, a scarf could be wrapped entirely around the body like an Indian sari, or only around the hips in order to create a high belt, recalling that of the Japanese kimono; or it could partially envelop the dancer's body, like forming two wings. The Knossos scarves were also intended to be worn in other ways, as shown in photographs that Fortuny produced in his atelier at Palazzo Pesaro Orfei (Figure 4.2); here, they cover both the head and the arms of the mannequins, recalling the Arabic burnous, as well as veils worn on Greek and Roman statues.

As shown in more detail below, during the official presentation of the Knossos scarves, which took place in Berlin on 24 November 1907, once again Fortuny's creations were presented in a dance context involving Ruth St. Denis.

Ruth St. Denis and her Oriental dances

Among the aforementioned American pioneers of modern dance – Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and Ruth St. Denis – the latter is often credited with the introduction of Orientalism

thanks to her performances, in which she embodied different characters inspired by Near and Far Eastern cultures.[35]

St. Denis was born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1879 and began her professional dance career in 1892 in New York, where she worked as a vaudeville dancer. In 1900, she toured Europe with David Belasco's company, but from 1904 she decided to develop her own style and work as a solo artist. Having acquired a particular interest in Egyptian culture, she started her cycle of Oriental dances in 1905 by representing an Egyptian goddess named 'Egypta'.[36] Later, she became increasingly interested in Far Eastern cultures, especially Indian and Japanese. Although she was mainly involved in reproducing Indian dances,[37] in which she interpreted characters such as 'Radha', 'Yogi', and the 'Nautch' (see also below), her dances also included images from North Africa (mostly Egypt) and Japan.

Ruth St. Denis travelled across Europe performing her Oriental dances from 1906 to 1909, when she returned to New York City and started touring the United States. In 1914, she met and married Ted Shawn, and in 1915 they founded the Denishawn Company in Los Angeles. They worked together until 1931, when they separated.[38] Ruth St. Denis continued working until 1955, and she died in 1968 in Hollywood.

In 1920, Ted Shawn published his book *Ruth St. Denis: Pioneer and Prophet. Being a History of her Cycle of Oriental Dances*. Here he described the performance of the dance *Radha*, which had made her famous in Europe (especially in Germany) as 'the first hieratic dance in modern times',[39] and its atmosphere as that of 'mystery and devotion, belonging to another civilisation and another era'.[40]

The *Radha* starts with the Indian goddess seated in a cross-legged position as the Buddha, who awakens to descend from her heavenly world to experience human passions.[41] Indeed, the dance performed by Radha is also known as the 'dance of the five senses'. As Shawn describes in detail, in St. Denis's

portrayal the Indian goddess discovers the five senses through five different tools until she becomes 'intoxicated with human sensations … and abandons herself to the passions of life'. At the end of the performance, the goddess Radha rests upon her knees to come back to her world of 'stillness' and 'supreme patience'.[42]

In 1906, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who was later the organiser of the Berlin presentation of Fortuny's Knossos scarves, published in the newspaper *Die Zeit* a long review of *Radha* entitled 'Die unvergleichliche Tanzerin' (the incomparable dancer). This was partly reported by Shawn in his aforementioned book, as follows:

> The Incomparable Dancer. In this extraordinarily hieratic art – strange combination of a strangely alive being with primeval tradition – every trace of sentimentality has vanished. It is the same with her smile, and this is that from the first moment estranges the hearts of women and the sensual curiosity of men, seeing Ruth Saint Denis. And it is just this that makes her dancing incomparable. It borders on voluptuousness, but is chaste. It is consecrated to the senses, but is a symbol of something higher. It is wild, but bound by external laws. It could be not other than it is. I saw her for a quarter of an hour and there were moments – such as falling down, kissing her own fingers, drinking from the bowl – that have impressed themselves upon the memory as does a noble detail from the Elgin marbles or a color of Giorgione. She will take her own place wherever she appears. Her wonderful directness – that severe, almost repellent directness – her sublime earnestness that is without a touch of pedantry, all this creates about her that isolation that ever surrounds the extraordinary.[43]

As shown by the above quotation, by 1906, through her performance of *Radha*, Ruth St. Denis was already exhibiting her individual style, combining mysticism and sensuality. This

is indicated, in particular, by von Hofmannsthal's praise of her exceptional and incomparable character and by his use of opposing words to underline the contradictory elements of her dancing: 'alive being', 'primeval tradition', 'voluptuousness', 'chaste', 'senses', 'something higher', 'wild', and 'laws'.

As mentioned above, when Mariano Fortuny invited Ruth St. Denis to present his Knossos scarves, probably on the advice of his friend von Hoffmansthal, she had been performing *Radha* in Germany, and Fortuny's choice of this dancer can be seen as symbolic of his own vision of Minoan Crete and of Minoan women in particular.

The 1907 presentation of Fortuny's Knossos scarves by Ruth St. Denis: the Minoans as Oriental and modern

To my knowledge, there are no surviving photographs illustrating the official presentation of the Knossos scarves in Berlin on 24 November 1907. Nevertheless, the archive of the Fortuny Museum in Venice has two remarkable newspaper articles by journalists who attended the event, which provide considerable insights: one, entitled 'Die Schleier des Mariano Fortuny', was published by Max Osborn in *Nationalzeitung*; the other, entitled 'Mondanità Internazionale', was published by Antonio Borgese in *La Stampa*.[44]

Osborn's article reports that the event took place during a matinée held in the Hohenzollern-Kunstgewerbehaus and organised by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who introduced the performance. Although the German journalist does not name the dancer who presented Fortuny's Knossos scarves, other sources clearly identify her as Ruth St. Denis.[45] After describing the audience, Osborn introduces the dancer with the following words, which closely recall St. Denis's performance of *Radha* (cf. above):

> A dancer, who first, like an Indian priestess, expresses all the ecstasies and all the meaningful mysteries of Buddhist mysticism through her slender

> and mysteriously brown body skin, but then she appears in front of us with the natural grace of her fresh oval face, adorned by her blond hair, shining like an American sleek and slender maid à la Helleu, – a dancer, whose identity I can't reveal, and that, even after this description, anybody can recognize.[46]

Osborn goes on to depict her movements and artistic gestures:

> First it was a Sortie de bal, a fantasy dance with moderate movements of enchanting melodies in the lines; then it was a 'matinée', a fascinating weaving of attractive motifs drawn from the toilette of a beautiful woman's 'boudoir'; I will never forget how the artist grabbed a small hand mirror, and sitting in front of it performed the winding of the scarf, following a delicate lulling melody; she got up holding the scarf in her hand, and walking and swaying, tilting and bending, and making her exquisite body undulate, rejoicing in the unveiling more and more the image of her graceful beauty, then it [the scarf] escaped and she grabbed it again, becoming intoxicated up to the exciting gesture of triumph.

It should be noted that among the images of Japanese 'courtesans' in fashion between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Japanese woman is often portrayed with a mirror in her hand. In particular, the celebrated Kitagawa Utamaro usually portrayed women active in entertainment in Tokyo's pleasure district in the act of getting made-up.[47] Osborn's further description of Ruth St. Denis' movements with the Knossos scarf suggests more Oriental allusions, since it recalls a sort of striptease evocative of Salome's celebrated dance of the seven veils and, more generally, of her *Radha* (cf. above).

Osborn also illustrates how the dancer used the Knossos scarf in a variety of ways that reflect the ambivalence and contradiction of the woman wearing it (flirtatious and shy, provocative and defensive), which is reminiscent of von

Hofmannsthal's review of *Radha* and can be seen as a reference to the contemporary views of the intriguing and conflicting relationship between man and woman: 'Then she took the silk cloth as if it were a veil, like a scarf, like a garment, like a toy of whim, as an offensive weapon and as a shield of defence for a fun coquetry'.[48]

In short, Osborn's account makes it clear that the performance was redolent of the Oriental world, so full of erotic and sexual allusions, and much fantasised by early 20th-century Western European society in its search for a world free from moral conventions.

Antonio Borgese's article starts with a report of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's introduction to the show, which, like Osborn's account, stressed the multiplicity of the use of Fortuny's scarves and their modernity as expression of the self:

> Do you see what Venetian women can do with their scarves? In how many manners, sometimes energetic, sometimes sad, sometimes languid, sometimes provocative, they can fall on the shoulders and sway around the hair? The future is the scarf because the future is the personality [expressed] in the dress; and scarves, such as those created by Mariano Fortuny, are so obedient to the body that wears them, so yielding to be modelled on the soul of a frivolous or thoughtful lady.[49]

Borgese's article, too, underscores the Oriental atmosphere of the performance, but it also adds a touch of Mediterranean antiquity and modernity by describing its location as a warehouse provided with 'precious *bric-à-brac* and artistic *chinoiserie*' and the Knossos scarves as a mixture of 'oriental fantasy' and 'mediterranean tradition' as well as classicism and modernity unified through a return to the origins, i.e. to the ancient Minoans (cf. epigraph above). In this context, one may add that Marcel Proust, who was also fascinated by Fortuny's sensouos garments (especially his cloaks),[50] described them as being reminiscent of 'the Orient-infused Venice'.[51]

In conclusion, the 1907 official presentation of Fortuny's Knossos scarves, with the use of Ruth St. Denis's performance, encapsulates Fortuny's vision of the Minoans and especially of the Minoan woman. For Fortuny, Minoan art was a means of producing a fresh and modern artistic creation that could adapt to the new body language of the 20th-century woman. Through his Knossos scarves, he followed the fashion of the time; he created a garment in accordance with the new fascination with veils and with the fresh enthusiasm for Oriental cultures, mainly the Near and Far East. Fortuny's Knossos scarves are printed with Minoan motifs, and imagined as an Oriental garment, such as an Indian sari, a Japanese kimono, or a Near Eastern veil. This is why they were officially presented by the most prominent representative of Oriental modern dance in Europe – Ruth St. Denis – who most likely also gave the same performance as, or similar to, her *Radha* performance on this occasion. And yet, the woman wearing Fortuny's Knossos scarves could also appear to be a combination of a Minoan/Mediterranean and an Oriental woman, a mixture of ancient and modern and of mystical and sensual, as well-indicated in the review by Antonio Borgese. The Knossos scarves are a meaningful vehicle for the early 20th-century modern woman to express a new femininity, intensely infused with a scent of magic and seduction imported from the Orient, and embodied by American pioneer dancers such as Ruth St. Denis.

Notes

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2 On this topic, see Gere 2009; Caloi 2010 and 2011, pp. 130–134; Momigliano 2013.

3 Morris 2010, p. 85.

4 For Fortuny's biography, see De Osma 1980, 2012; Franzini 1999.

5 On Fortuny's installation named 'Cupola', see De Osma 1985, pp. 68–76.

6 On Fortuny's work as a stage designer and couturier in Berlin and in Paris, see Franzini 1999.

7 On the 'Parisian Cretomania', see Momigliano, Chapter 5 in this volume.

8 The textile collection of Fortuny is published in Davanzo Poli 1997.

9 See photographs in De Osma 1980, pp. 29–30, 99.

10 See photographs of different versions of the 'delphos' gown in De la Pera Celada 2010, pp. 72–73, 110–111, 130–131.

11 On the Archaic Greek statues that could have inspired the creation of Fortuny's 'delphos' gown, see Caloi 2013.

12 See the catalogue and the photographs of all the Fortuny Knossos scarves known so far in Caloi 2011, pp. 149–159, Figures 11–45.

13 Caloi 2011, plates Ia-b.

14 See Caloi 2011, p. 84. Fortuny wrote:

> Quando tornai a Venezia fui indotto a ricercare gli antichi metodi della stampa su stoffe. Le scoperte fatte da Angelo Mosso su Creta furono di grande incentivo a tentare alcune prove. E il primo saggio fu una sciarpa dipinta, una sciarpa lunga, che chiamai appunto Knossos dai motivi di fiori e alghe che corrono intorno agli antichissimi vasi ritrovati nell'isola di Candia.

15 See all the Minoan sources used by Fortuny in Caloi 2011, pp. 83–99.

16 See the catalogue and the photographs of the Minoan motifs used by Fortuny for his Knossos scarves in Caloi 2011, pp. 160–167, Figures 1–10.

17 On this topic, see Farnoux 1993, 1996; Blakolmer 2006.

18 Blakolmer 2006.

19 For the reception of Minoan Crete in Léon Bakst's works, see Momigliano 2013 and Chapter 5 in this volume.

20 See, for example, the photographs of Fortuny's wife Henriette wearing a kimono in De la Pera Celada 2010, p. 151.

21 On the phenomenon of 'Japonisme', see Wichmann 1981; Berger 1992.

22 See, for example, Claude Monet and Vincent Van Gogh, as well as Art Nouveau artists like James McNeill Whistler and Arthur Beardsley.

23 Sorell 1994, p. 331.

24 Bosanquet 1904, p. 320.

25 Mosso 1907, p. 34: 'Poche ceramiche superano le Kamares nel pregio artistico, maravigliose son esse per decorazione e delicatezza di lavoro. La leggerezza era la caratteristica e il lusso di tale ceramica, che rassomiglia a gusci d'uovo, o alla porcellana giapponese'.

26 Pernier 1907, pp. 4–5.

27 Pottier 1902, p. 86. This comment, often reported by scholars, was quoted for the first time by A. Farnoux in Farnoux 1996, p. 105.

28 Mosso 1907, p. 107. He wrote:

> Sono figurine di donne eleganti col naso non ancora greco, il petto provocante, il busto stretto colla vita sottile; e dalla cintola in giù hanno sottane moderne con volani capricciosi, ornati di liste per sbieco e per diritto, con grande sfarzo di ricami.

29 On the early 20th-century interpretations of the Minoan woman as an Oriental, see Morris 2006, 2010 with bibliography; on the seductive power of the Minoan woman, see Caloi 2011 and 2013; see also Momigliano 2013.

30 On the seductive images of women depicted on the Japanese 'ukiyo-e', see Morena 2008, pp. 58–109.

31 See Vinca Masini 2000, pp. 69–75, figs. 159–160, 162–163, 168–169.

32 For the innovations introduced in Europe by Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and Ruth St. Denis, see Casini Ropa 1990; Schur 1990; Sorell 1994; Au 2003 with bibliography.

33 See Casini Ropa 1990; Martin 1990 with bibliography.

34 For his painting *Parsifal. Fanciulle fiore* (1896), Fortuny reported that he was inspired by Fuller's performance of her *Danse Serpentine*, which he saw in Paris. See Franzini 1999, p. 50.

35 Casini Ropa 1990, pp. 121–126. For the new phenomenon named 'Orientalism' that emerged in late 19th-/early 20th-century in Europe, see Blakolmer 2006, p. 232 with bibliography.

36 Shelton 1990, p. 153.

37 Shelton 1990, pp. 159–169, pls. 9–10.

38 For the Denishawn Company performances, see Morris, Chapter 6 in this volume.

39 Shawn 1920, p. 33.

40 Shawn 1920, p. 29.

41 Shawn 1920, p. 30.

42 Shawn 1920, p. 29.

43 Shawn 1920, p. 33.

44 Both articles are reproduced in Caloi 2011, pp. 135–143.

45 Shawn 1920, p. 79; Casini Ropa 1990, p. 231.

46 For the original German text, see Caloi 2011, pp. 137–138.

47 On the Utamaro 'ukiyo-e' depicting women 'à la toilette', see Morena Francesco, pp. 58–109, especially p. 62.

48 See note 46.

49 For the original Italian text by Borgese of this and later quotations, see Caloi 2011, pp. 141–143.

50 On the relationship between Fortuny and Proust, see Peri 1984.

51 Proust 1978, pp. 379–380. Venice, whose contacts with the Orient go back to the Middle Ages, has often been referred to as the gateway to the Orient; see, e.g., Pedani 2010.

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Chapter 5

From Russia with love: Minoan Crete and the Russian Silver Age[1]

Nicoletta Momigliano

Introduction

My chapter examines the reception of Minoan Crete in the works of two Russian intellectuals, the artist Léon Bakst and the writer Dmitry Merezhkovsky, who belonged to the Russian 'Silver Age' – a label conventionally applied to cultural developments spanning the period 1898–1917, i.e. starting with the foundation of the art magazine *Mir Iskusstva* (World of Art, 1898–1904) in St Petersburg and ending with the Bolshevik revolution. More specifically, I shall focus on examples of theatrical productions created by Bakst for the famous Ballets Russes and other companies, and on Merezhkovsky's historical novel *The Birth of the Gods: Tutankhamon in Crete* (1925) as well as his historical-religious-philosophical treatise *The Secret of the West: Atlantis-Europe* (1930).

The ideas expressed in these 'Minoan' works by the two Russians offer intriguing parallels, as well as contrasts, with the reception of Minoan Crete among artists and intellectuals working in other contemporary traditions, as shown by various chapters in this volume. Arguably, they also anticipate aspects of more recent receptions and appropriations of this culture as 'modern' and as representative of a female-centred society, living in peaceful harmony with nature and displaying intriguing attitudes to sex, including homosexuality. The works by Bakst and Merezhkovsky, however, did bring from Russia a particular kind of 'love' to Minoan Crete: a new interest in the human body, especially in its androgynous form, and a new sensuality and eroticism mixed with spirituality. Bakst's and Merezhkovsky's fascination with the human body, eroticism, and sex, in turn, can be seen as part of a wider, early 20th-

century renewal of interest in the individual and the self (and in sexuality as expression of the self). In addition, and more specifically, in the case of Bakst this interest can be seen as a means towards the creation of new forms of art and, and in the case of Merezhkovsky, towards a new Christianity and human salvation.

The 'Minoan' works by Bakst and Merezhkovsky cannot, however, be seen to represent some kind of 'Cretomania' that developed within Russia during the Silver Age. They were both Russian émigrés who spent much of their lives in Paris, and their 'Minoan' works were effectively produced while they were both working in the French capital. One could suggest that they are, in fact, part of a 'Parisian Cretomania' of the first quarter of the 20th century. If, on the one hand, the Minoans are arguably an 'English' rediscovery or invention by Sir Arthur Evans, on the other, Paris can be seen as the modern 'Minoan city' *par excellence*, in the sense that it is largely in a Parisian milieu that the rediscovery of the Minoans captured a wider public imagination. It is in the French capital where most European intellectuals, writers, and artists were introduced to Minoan Crete and/or produced artistic works inspired by the Minoan past – from Marcel Proust to Pablo Picasso, and from Henri Antoine Jules-Bois to Marc Chagall, to mention a few. In other words, the works by Bakst and Merezhkovsky present some characteristic Russian elements (especially visible in Merezhkovsky's mystical-religious streak), but they also reflect more cosmopolitan influences.

The two Russians' interest in Minoan Crete may appear surprising at first, given that Russian involvement in Minoan archaeology can only be described as conspicuous by its absence. This is especially so in view of the political situation in early 20th-century Crete, which involved a Russian military presence on the island that could have facilitated such activity. As is well known, in 1896–1897, Crete, at the time still under Ottoman rule, witnessed a series of particularly violent clashes between its Christian and Muslim populations, which led to European military intervention. Consequently, in 1898, Crete

was granted autonomous status under Ottoman suzerainty, a situation that lasted until 1913, when the island finally became part of the Greek nation-state. During this 15-year period (the *Kritiki Politeia*), the island was governed by a High Commissioner, Prince George of Greece, appointed by the European powers, and was divided into four sectors or districts under these powers' supervision: Herakleion, under the British; Sitia, under the French; Sfakia and Apokorona, under the Italians; and Rethymnon, under the Russians. All four powers had headquarters and diplomatic representation in Chania – the capital of the island at that time. This new political situation helped to facilitate archaeological explorations, which had previously been obstructed by Ottoman bureaucracy and especially by most of the Greek Cretans themselves, who feared that the best archaeological finds would be removed to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. Thus, from 1898, Crete became a 'Promised Land' of archaeological research.[2]

As hinted above, however, of the four European powers that policed the island, only Britain, France, and Italy took advantage of the new circumstances, in which military, political, and cultural hegemony could go hand in hand, and accompanied their military and political presence with a number of archaeological and other scientific expeditions. This produced a kind of 'archaeological colonisation' of Crete, whose legacy is still felt today.[3]

The exciting and well-publicised new discoveries on Crete attracted the interest of Russian intellectuals and scholars,[4] but they did not engage directly in Cretan expeditions: in their place, one finds Americans, such as Harriet Boyd, Edith Hall, and Richard Seager, who were noticeably active in East Crete. This lack of Russian cultural colonialism on the island may be explained by what some scholars have called the 'internal colonisation' of Russia, and is encapsulated in this quotation: 'While the British sought oriental knowledge and pleasures overseas, the Russians sought them in the depths of their own country.'[5] A detailed explanation of Russian absence from

Cretan archaeology, however, is beyond the scope of this chapter, and I shall now turn instead to a discussion of how Bakst and Merezhkovsky became fascinated by Minoan Crete.

Bakst: the Minoans as a path towards modernism

I shall start my discussion with Bakst, since he appears to have been the first of the two to have produced works specifically alluding to prehistoric Crete, starting as early as 1908, while the 'Minoan' volumes by Merezhkovsky (although started in the late 1910s, before his escape from Russia) were published in the 1920s and 1930s.

Bakst's strong fascination with ancient Greece, and with Minoan Crete in particular, derived from both his general interest in ancient Greek art and his own response to the emerging modernist movements – which, in turn, made him more appreciative of 'primitive' or 'archaic' styles.[6] Bakst (a.k.a. Lev Samoilovich Rosenberg, 1866–1924) was born in Grodno, Belarus, to a middle-class Jewish family, who moved to St Petersburg when he was still a child.[7] In 1883, he entered the St Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts, and in 1898, together with Alexander Benois and Sergei Diaghilev, he founded the aforementioned influential periodical *Mir Iskusstva* (*World of Art*), the only Russian journal at that time largely devoted to modern art. The main aim of *Mir Iskusstva* was to distance the educated Russian public from the realism that had long dominated Russian art, and to introduce more modern movements that had recently arisen in Western Europe, from impressionism to Les Nabis. This distancing from realism, however, did not imply a complete rejection of the past: the magazine included numerous articles that were devoted not only to artists such as Maurice St Denis and James Whistler, but also, for example, to Byzantine and 18th-century art. In other words, the aim was the establishment of a modern artistic canon partly through a new appreciation of the past, almost as if 'only by looking backwards could culture move forwards',[8] an idea that is well-exemplified by Bakst's and Merezhkovsky's own works (see also below). The magazine

also included essays devoted to literature and other arts, as illustrated by the fact that Merezhkovsky himself published in *Mir Iskusstva* an important literary essay on Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky (1901).[9]

In the early 1900s, Bakst started his theatrical career as designer of sets and costumes for ballets, operas, and dramas, which, as explained in more detail below, included Greek tragedies based on translations by Merezhkovsky, and eventually led to his encounter with Minoan Crete. In this period, Bakst also contributed to various magazines, and from 1906–1910 he became a teacher in a private art school in St Petersburg, where the well-known painter Marc Chagall and the ballet dancer/choreographer Vaslav Nijinsky were among his pupils.[10] In 1909, Bakst started his collaboration with Sergei Diaghilev and his famous Ballets Russes, and in 1910 he moved to Paris, where he died in 1924.

Although throughout his life Bakst produced some fine portraits and other notable works, such as *Portrait of Sergei Diaghilev and His Nanny* (1906) and *Terror Antiquus* (1908) (Figure 5.1A), his main claim to fame is as designer for the costumes and sets of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes and other theatrical productions, especially those created for his muse – the actress, mime, and impresario Ida Rubinstein, who was also a member of Diaghilev's company in its early days. Among Bakst's most famous creations are the sets and costume designs for the ballets *Cléopâtre* (1910), *Shéhérazade* (1910), *Le Spectre de la Rose* (1911), *Narcisse* (1911), *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912), and *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1912). His designs caused a real sensation at the time, influencing new fashions in dress and interior decoration. An example of the fame and recognition that Bakst gained in the first two decades of the 20th century is the fact that he is mentioned approvingly in Proust's *Á la recherche du temps perdu*. Particularly notable are Bakst's imaginative and sensuous use of colour, his eroticism, and his appreciation of the human body in movement (see Appendix and Figures 5.1–5.31).

Bakst's fascination with Minoan Crete emerged from his more general interest in ancient Greek art, which started a few years before he joined Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, i.e. in the early 1900s, when, as mentioned above, he produced designs for the performances of three Greek tragedies – *Hyppolitus*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, and *Antigone* – which were staged in St Petersburg between 1902 and 1904. These were based on Merezhkovsky's translations of the original Greek texts and are part of the Russian Silver Age's renewed interest in ancient Greece, which was largely inspired by Friedrich Nietzsche.[11]

While working on these productions, Bakst spent much time in the Hermitage studying Greek art and started dreaming about visiting Greece one day. He fulfilled his dream in May–June 1907, when he travelled to Greece with his friend and fellow artist Valentin Serov. Their impressions were described in their letters home,[12] and many years later Bakst published a brief memoir of this journey entitled *Serov and I in Greece* (1923). During their journey, they visited important Classical and Bronze Age sites on mainland Greece, such as Olympia and Mycenae, and also spent some days in Crete, producing a number of sketches of landscapes, peoples, and antiquities that they saw in the Herakleion Museum. To my knowledge, there are two surviving sketchbooks that record Bakst's impressions of Crete in particular. One is kept in the Department of Drawings in the State Russian Museum in St Petersburg (Hermitage), and the other is in the New York Public Library (NYPL). In 2008, Ludmila Davydova published many of the images in the St Petersburg sketchbook, and these were also used in a recent Italian translation of Bakst's travel memoir (2012). The New York sketchbook, however, remains largely unpublished (a few images are illustrated here, courtesy of the NYPL: see Figures 5.1B, 5.10B, and 5.23B). These two sketchbooks include dozens of images, from sketches made during a visit to Knossos (e.g. images of the Throne Room and Magazine of Giant Pithoi), to details of frescoes or objects that Bakst would have seen in the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion, e.g. the so-called snake votary from the Temple

Repositories (which he sketched from different viewpoints) and the Town Mosaic plaques. Bakst's sketches also include specific details gleaned from pottery motifs, such as the 'sacral ivy' and the 'bucrania' combined with the double axe, the latter more likely copied at some later stage from Evans's and other publications. The 'sacral ivy', 'bucrania/double axe' combination, and other Minoan motifs were employed in his costumes and set designs for ballets and other theatrical performances (as shown in various illustrations accompanying the Appendix to this chapter).

The Cretan visit made a very strong and long-lasting impression on Bakst, as can be seen in his subsequent writings and artistic productions. For example, allusions to Minoan Crete can be found in his aforementioned 1908 painting *Terror Antiquus* (Figure 5.1A, Appendix no. 1). The painting shows a scene of lightning against an ancient Greek landscape. The central figure is the statue of an Archaic Greek *kore*, but there are also references to the Lion Gate of Mycenae and the Knossian Town Mosaic faience plaques, both of which were sketched by Bakst during his Greek journey (Figure 5.1B). Some scholars have suggested that *Terror Antiquus* represents the apocalypse of the ancient Greek world, and even the destruction of Atlantis or of the Minoan Empire.[13] If the painting alludes to the myth of Atlantis, its use of Minoan elements is intriguing, since the connection between the fall of Minoan Crete and this Platonic myth, so popular today, had not been clearly suggested as yet.[14] It may be worth pointing out, however, that Bakst, in a 1909 article (cf. below), referred to thunder in the middle of a hot summer day as 'the most frightening menace of the antique world'.[15] Moreover, in the last pages of his 1923 travel memoir, he recounted in vivid detail the fear he experienced at Delphi during a storm with lightning, described the Delphic landscape with its ancient remains as seen from a high perspective, and concluded the passage with the image of a petrified Persephone. All these elements can be matched in *Terror Antiquus*, thus suggesting that, despite the obvious Minoan references in the details, the

painting is expressing a more primeval kind of terror, partly inspired by Bakst's own Delphic experience.

In addition to Bakst's 1923 travel memoir, letters, sketches, paintings, and theatrical works, another important source for understanding the influence of Minoan material culture on this artist is his essay 'The Paths of Classicism in Art', first published in 1909.[16] In this work, Bakst discussed the history of classicism in European art and analysed aspects of contemporary artistic developments in painting, praising in particular the works of Gauguin and Matisse. In addition, Bakst presented his vision for an art of the future, proposing that artists should pay more attention to simplicity and to the human body – indeed, should worship the beauty of human form and nudity. In doing so, he suggested that they should learn some lessons from the Greek past – but which Greek past? Bakst argued that modern artists needed to eschew too sophisticated, too exquisite models, such as Phidias or Praxiteles, and should look instead towards more primitive or archaic forms, and be inspired by the drawings of children. According to Bakst, primitive and children's works suited modern tastes and a future 'classical' art because of three main qualities that characterised them as well as all great 'art': (1) sincerity or 'lapidary style' (i.e. focus on essential lines); (2) movement, and (3) bright, clean colour. And Minoan Crete, with its bold colours, was for Bakst the primitive and child-like perfect model. To use Bakst's own words:

> We also know of the clamorous success enjoyed now in Europe by the Cretan culture newly uncovered by Evans and Halbherr. Yesterday it was virtually unknown, but today it constitutes a new order of antique art, one that is so close and familiar to us! This art evolved independently of the Egyptians and the Chaldeans, full of unexpected audacity, of unreasoned, impudent solutions and of light, shining victories. It trembles with the life of its own style. Cretan art is bold and dazzling, like the mad, courageous gallop of nude youths, who clutch the

> wild and acrid manes of their overheated steeds…. In this art, which is so close to us, the arresting perfection of Praxiteles is not etched; the almost absolute beauty of the Parthenon is not to be found. Cretan culture never attained the extraordinary heights beyond which lie abstraction or effeminacy. For this reason, it is more closely related to our new art, with its half-perfection: it smiles and breathes with human efforts. Naturally, involuntarily, the contemporary artist fixes an attentive gaze on Cretan culture, not without hope of scaling the inaccessible summits of perfection. Out from behind the unfettered ornamentation and the turbulent frescoes peers the keen eye of the Cretan artist, an eternally smiling child. From such an art it would be possible to cut a shoot and to graft it onto our own art.[17]

And Bakst did 'graft' Minoan art into his own, and in this process, he created something new, something more sensual, reflecting his modern interest in eroticism and the human body, especially the human body in movement. In other words, one could argue that Bakst's encounter with Minoan Crete was an important step in his own trajectory towards modernism, because 'only by looking backwards could culture move forwards', i.e. only by looking at the roots and basic elements of art could modern artists produce a new classical canon. In particular, Minoan Crete may have given Bakst some inspiration in his bold use of colours, as shown by the fact that he reportedly said:

> In my sets I have tried to show the Homeric world as I see it. I did my research on Crete, in the labyrinth of Minos. And I must admit that I found there what I had hoped for … I have always thought that early Greek art … did not have that lack of colour which is generally ascribed to the classical period. Statues and monuments were all multi-hued and I have used traces of those vivid, even brutal colours.[18]

Beside 'brutal colours', Bakst used various Minoan elements in his design, and perhaps more extensively than previously recognised, because his Minoan 'grafts' are often restricted to minor decorative features in his designs, which only those very familiar with Minoan material culture, and pottery in particular, can easily detect. It is only in one of his later works, the sets and costumes for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of D'Annunzio's *Fedra* (cf. below), that the Minoan elements are pervasive and would have been obvious to all his audience.

Examples of Bakst's Minoan 'grafts' are numerous and, besides various stage productions, include paintings (such as the aforementioned *Terror Antiquus*), illustrations for magazines, and dresses for the Parisian couturier Jeanne Paquin (cf. Appendix nos. 37–38, Figure 5.31). Here I shall limit my discussion to a few examples taken from his ballets and other theatrical productions.

Early instances of Bakst's 'grafting' of Minoan art into his own are illustrated by his set and costume designs for ballets with Greek themes that he produced for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, such as *Narcisse*, premiered in Monte Carlo in April 1911. As Figures 5.3–5.5 show, several of the costumes were inspired by floral motifs (vetches, ivy, and lilies) that can be found in many Minoan artefacts, from frescoes to pottery and faience plaques found at important Minoan sites such as Knossos and Ayia Triada. Interestingly, some of the same floral motifs were also used by the Spanish-Venetian artist Mariano Fortuny in some of the scarves and dresses that he started producing in the mid-1900s.[19] Fortuny's scarves and dresses were worn by famous artists, such as Isadora Duncan and Sarah Bernhardt, and, like Bakst's works, were highly praised in Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*.

Further Minoan elements can be found in Bakst's sketches for the play *Hélène de Sparte* (by the Belgian poet Emil Verhaeren), first performed at the beginning of May 1912 in Paris (Figures 5.6–5.11). One sketch, for example, shows details derived from well-known Late Minoan pottery motifs, such as the stylised papyrus (Figure 5.7), while another was directly

inspired by Middle Minoan Kamares ware from Knossos (Figures 5.11A–5.11B). The former shows that it was originally produced for the costume of Menelaus in *Hélène de Sparte*, but a note in Bakst's hand (top right corner of the sketch) suggests that this was also to be reused for the costumes of three brigands in the ballet *Daphnis and Chloe*, first performed on the 8th of June 1912 (with choreography by Michail Fokine, and music specially composed by Maurice Ravel). The choice of *Daphnis and Chloe* as a subject for a ballet may have been partly influenced by Merezhkovsky's 1896 translation of and introduction to Longus's text, in which he extolled a Nietzschean ideal of sensuality and presented the eponymous characters as some kind of Adam and Eve, innocent of sin and shame.[20]

In May 1912, Parisian audiences also saw another work by the Ballets Russes in which sensuality played a crucial role: the notorious *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*, with sets and costumes by Bakst, and choreography by Nijinsky to the music of the prelude by Debussy – which, in turn, had been inspired by Mallarmé's eponymous poem. For this work too, Bakst took some inspiration from prehistoric Crete (Figures 5.12–5.15). In fact, this ballet is a good example of Bakst's eclectic (and modernist) fusion of Minoan and Archaic Greek elements. To illustrate this point: the ivy motif used in some of the nymphs' costumes could be inspired by Minoan pottery, but could equally derive from later Greek periods; also, the overall look of the nymphs and their dresses, in particular, recall more closely Archaic Greek *korai*, but if one looks at specific details, one can find the 'grafting' of Minoan elements. For example, Bakst's design for one of the nymphs' costumes includes spirals and wavy lines of a kind that is most typical of Bronze Age Greece (Figures 5.12A–5.12B); similarly, the green motif that appears in his costume design for another nymph recalls quite closely a decorative element found on prehistoric Cretan vases (Figures 5.13A–5.13C), which Bakst would have seen in the archaeological museum of Herakleion during his 1907 visit or could have copied from archaeological publications at some later stage. Furthermore, in both Archaic Greek and Minoan

iconography, female hairstyle is characterised by heads of curly hair and long curly locks, and we know that Bakst did sketch the Knossian 'Dancing Lady' fresco as well as other Minoan wall paintings showing this feature. Indeed, it is remarkable that the nymphs in *Faune* have very long locks, reaching as far as their hips or even below, something that is very typical of Minoan iconography (cf. Figures 5.15A–5.15B), whereas on Archaic Greek *korai*, the locks usually reach just above or just below the breasts.[21]

As mentioned earlier, Bakst's most spectacular and pervasive use of Minoan elements can be found in his work for Ida Rubinstein's staging of the multi-media production of *Phèdre* at the Paris Opera in 1923, with music by Ildebrando Pizzetti, and based on the tragedy *Fedra* written by Gabriele D'Annunzio in 1909 (Figures 5.19–5.30). The extreme Minoanness of this work is easily explained by the fact that in 1922 Bakst worked on the little memoir of his Greek journey with Serov, published in 1923. This must have rekindled his own remembrances of his visit to Phaedra's homeland, and he no doubt found some inspiration from the sketches he made there in 1907.

There are many surviving designs for the set of *Phèdre* (Appendix nos. 21–27, Figures 5.19–5.22), all showing an abundance of Minoan tapering columns, decorated with running spirals and/or other quintessential Minoan motifs, such as the double axe, sacral knot, and octopus. Some also make reference to the Grand Staircase and the fresco with griffins from the Throne Room at Knossos.

Concerning the costumes for *Phèdre*, one designed for Rubinstein in the title role shows characteristic Minoan elements in the depiction of exposed breasts, snakes twisted around the arms, and the decorative details, such as the double axe and bucrania (Figure 5.23A); another costume design is directly based on a (reconstructed) fresco found in the Mycenaean palace of Tiryns (Figure 5.24) showing a woman in typical Minoan dress, although Bakst's version has a more markedly sensual character.

Merezhkovsky: the Minoans as Christians before Christ

A few years later, an equally sensual but, at the same time, very spiritual view of Minoan Crete emerged in some works by Merezhkosvky, who conceived of the Minoans as proto-Christians, or Christians before Christ, and enlisted them in his fight against the increasing secularisation of early 20th-century society. Dmitry Sergeyevich Merezhkovsky (1865–1941) was born into a well-to-do family of a court official in St Petersburg.[22] He was a prolific poet, literary critic, religious thinker, and novelist. He was nominated 10 times for the Nobel Prize, which he came closest to winning in 1933.[23] With his wife, the poet Zinaida Hippius, he is regarded as an influential figure of the Russian Silver Age, and co-founder of the Russian Symbolist movement in poetry. He published numerous poems, seminal essays on Russian literature, translations of Greek texts (such as the aforementioned translations of various Greek tragedies and Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe)*, and romanticised biographies of Julian the Apostate (*The Death of the Gods*, 1896), Leonardo da Vinci *(The Resurrection of the Gods*, 1901), and Peter the Great *(Peter and Alexis*, 1904), which were translated into various European languages. He also wrote some historical novels, such as *The Birth of the Gods: Tutankhamon in Crete (Rozhdenie Bogov: Tutankamon na Krite*, 1924; French transl. 1924; English transl. 1925) and its sequel *Messiya* (1927, published in English as *Akhnaton King of Egypt*), as well as religious-historical-philosophical treatises such as *The Secret of the East: Egypt-Babylon (Taina Trekh: Egipet I Vavilon*, 1925, never translated into English, but translated into French as *Les Mystéres de l'Orient: Egypte-Babylone*) and *The Secret of the West: Atlantis and Europe (Taina Zapada: Atlantida-Evropa*, 1930).[24] *The Birth of the Gods* and *The Secret of the West* are the works that illustrate Merezhkovsky's peculiar reception and use of Minoan Crete, and they are discussed in more detail below. As already mentioned, in 1898 Merezhkovsky and his wife joined the intellectual entourage of *Mir Iskusstva*, of which Bakst was a

founder, and Merezhkovsky published an important essay on Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky in that journal. In the early 1900s, however, his involvement with the *Mir Iskusstva* group waned, while he and his wife became more and more engaged in mystical-religious activities, which included the founding of a religious-philosophical society and its related journal *(Novy Put* or New Path). Nevertheless, some contacts between Bakst and Merezhkovsky continued, since between 1902 and 1904, the former produced sets and costumes for the St Petersburg production of Greek tragedies translated by the latter (cf. above), and also painted a portrait of Merezhkovsky's wife (completed in 1906). In addition, as suggested above, it is likely that the inclusion of *Daphnis and Chloe* in the Ballets Russes' repertoire may have been partly inspired by Merezhkovsky's translation of (and introduction to) Longus's text. In turn, the works of the Ballets Russes and other dancers, such as Isadora Duncan, seem to have influenced Merezhkovsky's appreciation of dance as an artistic and spiritual form of expression, as indicated in his historical novels based on Crete and Egypt.[25]

Although Merezhkovsky initially welcomed the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, believing that they would also herald a religious renewal in Russia, his enthusiasm soon turned into disappointment and conflict with the ensuing regimes. He left Russia in self-imposed exile twice, settling in Paris from 1906–1908, and then again from 1919 until his death in 1941. Both 'Minoan' works by Merezhkovsky discussed here, *The Birth of the Gods* and *The Secret of the West*, were completed during his second Parisian exile, although they contain many of his long-held ideas about religion and sex, and he started research on them before leaving Russia. Indeed, he reportedly escaped via Poland on the pretext of giving lectures on art and literature to soldiers stationed in southern Russia, with the existing manuscript of *The Birth of the Gods* camouflaged in a cover with the title 'Materials for lectures to Red Army units'.[26]

One of Merezhkovsky's main concerns throughout his life was the 'discovery and practice of true Christianity'.[27] For

him, the whole of human history was about Christ, and he could be described as a self-styled prophet of a new Christianity, which he hoped would provide salvation for humanity, and resolve all the antitheses of modern life. In particular, he attempted to reconcile the opposition of spirit and flesh, of Christian spirituality and pagan love for beauty and appreciation of the human body. This could perhaps be seen as typical of a certain Russian tradition, if one agrees with Merezhkovsky's own view that 'to unite such extremes is a special Russian trait'.[28]

When still a teenager, Merezhkovsky had visited the Crimea, and had remained captivated by the beauty of the scenery and its Hellenic flavour. His enthusiasm for ancient Greece was further enhanced by his reading of Nietzsche and by a journey to the Mediterranean in the early 1890s, where the Athenian Parthenon made a particular impression on him.[29] Thus, throughout his life, Merezhkovsky tried to combine a new Christian spirituality and a pagan/Nietzschean appreciation of life, or, to put it in other words, he tried to reconcile the idea of death (Christ crucified) with the pagan (and especially Greek) love of life, nature, and idealisation of the beauty of the human body. Merezhkovsky rejected the traditional Judeo-Christian mortification of the flesh, was fascinated by sexuality, and regarded sex as one of the ways by which humanity could contact the transcendent world. In his words, 'sexual craving is the craving for knowledge, curiosity towards the transcendental'.[30] He was particularly attracted by the androgynous body, because he conceived the divinity as being both male and female, a supreme bisexual being, and also believed that all humans had both male and female elements within themselves.

Merezhkovsky's desire to reconcile Christian spirituality and paganism led him to the study of Christian origins and other ancient religions, in the hope that this would guide him towards the creation of a new Christianity more attuned to present and future humanity. Through his studies, he became convinced that all ancient religions foreshadowed the notion of

a sacred trinity, usually composed of a Mother, Father, and Son – with the Mother (as Mother Earth) often holding priority – indeed, in his thought, the very notion of trinity (of two diametrically opposed elements combined as one) formed the basis of human thinking, of our experience of the world, past, present, and future. Christianity was the revelation of the Son, but it had largely forgotten the importance of the Mother (which he identified with the Holy Spirit), since God the Father could not give birth to a Son without a female divine being. Thus, he saw contemporary Christianity's stress on the masculine as mistaken, and leading to wars, which threatened humanity: Merezhkovsky's new Christianity would reaffirm the importance of the feminine and more peaceful element within the divinity and save the world.

In the course of his studies of ancient religions, Merezhkovsky also came to believe that divinities such as Egyptian Osiris, Babylonian Tammuz, and Hellenic Dionysus all prefigured Christ. In other words, all ancient religions foreshadowed the coming of the Messiah, and all human history was about Christ. To use his own words,

> the historical development of mankind is a mystery play, a sacrament of crucifixion in which all the peoples take part … The people are many, but the mystery is one – the mystery of the god who dies and rises again from the dead. The myth of the suffering God refers not to an event that happened once, but to an event which is happening always and is lived over again and again in the life of the world and of mankind.[31]

Thus, in the fight against atheism, which tried to destroy the historical reality of Christ, Merezhkovsky urged believers to find aid in 'the whole of mankind, not only of the present day, but also of the past – the Christians before Christ'.[32] Merezhkovsky enlisted the Minoans as proto-Christians in two of his works in particular, *The Birth of the Gods* (1924) and *The Secret of the West* (1930). Neither work has, in my opinion, great literary merit. Merezhkovsky's use of the Cretan Bronze

Age as a symbolic and mystical aid to the salvation of humanity, however, is quite intriguing.

I was not able to ascertain whether Merezhkovsky, like Bakst, actually visited Crete, but he certainly gained an appreciation of the Minoans through his wide readings, which included many archaeological works by Arthur Evans, Angelo Mosso, and René Dussaud, among many others, as illustrated by his Minoan allusions in *The Birth of the Gods* and his bibliographical references in *The Secret of the West*.

It is not very surprising that Merezhkovsky was attracted by the Minoans, since Evans, in evolutionary fashion, had already imbued them with Christian overtones – as shown, for example, by his characterisation of their religion as an early form of monotheism, centred on a Great Mother Goddess, who was seen as a precursor of the Virgin Mary.[33] In addition, two aspects of Minoan material culture particularly resonated with Merezhkovsky's religious ideas: the androgynous depictions of youths in Minoan art, and the discovery of a marble cross in the Temple Repositories at Knossos. He connected the gender-ambiguous Minoan representations of youths with his own belief in the bisexuality of the divine and regarded the Knossian cross as a symbol of the sun as divinity as well as a foreshadower of things to come (i.e. Christ crucified). Indeed, his preface to *The Birth of the Gods: Tutankhamon in Crete* starts precisely with a reference to the discovery of this marble cross in Evans's excavations.

The Birth of the Gods is an historical novel set in Crete in the 14th century BC, at the time of Akhenaton in Egypt, which also has a sequel in the novel *Messiya (Akhnaton King of Egypt)*. In *The Birth of the Gods*, Cretan society is often seen through the eyes of Tutankhamon, who is pharaoh Akhenaton's ambassador to the island. Crete is here represented as a peaceful and cosmopolitan country,[34] where women were once more important than men, i.e. a matriarchy, but was then ruled by the wily Idominin, a King who was also Queen, wore a bull's mask, and was surrounded by eunuchs, cross-dressing

priestesses and priests, as well as plenty of androgynous youths. Cretan religion is represented as centred on a Great Mother Goddess, but also incorporates a Father and a Bull-son, who dies and rises again – thus prefiguring the Christian trinity and Christ's sacrifice. Cretan religious rituals include a sacred marriage between a chosen virgin and a bull (modelled on the later Greek myth of Pasiphae's camouflage as a heifer). They also include human sacrifices that are performed during rituals in the mountains (largely modelled on Euripides' *Bacchae*) and as part of bull-dancing games (thus using Minoan wall paintings to rationalise later Greek myths of Athenian youths sacrificed to the Minotaur, as Evans, Mary Renault, Nikos Kazantzakis, and many others have done).

The basic plot of *The Birth of the Gods* is a love story on the theme of the eternal triangle.[35] Tammuzadad, a Babylonian iron merchant, falls in love with Dio, the main character in this novel and also in its sequel *(Messiya/Akhnaton King of Egypt)*, who is one of the priestesses of the Great Mother 'Ma'. Dio, however, does not return his love, at least physically, and seems to be more interested, both spiritually and erotically, in her novice, the young Eoia, a girl of Thracian origins. Both girls are provided with androgynous bodies, largely inspired by Minoan iconography, and the subject of several erotically charged descriptions. Dio is also particularly skilled in the art of dancing – she was taught and, in turn, she teaches divine wisdom 'by dancing, for mute dance is wiser than all the words of men'.[36] Indeed, it is through some ecstatic dancing that Dio has a vision of a luminous cross emerging from a blood-red mist symbolizing the rising sun.[37] Dio is expected to become one day the supreme priestess of the Great Mother, but her own religious beliefs, and Tammuzadad's jealousy, tragically combine to change her destiny. Dio abhors the Cretan practice of human sacrifice, because in her pre-Christian Christianity she has understood that

> Father is love: the Father sacrifices not men to his Son, but his Son to men – this is what must be said;

to clear the earth from the blood of human sacrifices,
to prepare for Him who is to come.[38]

Dio's beloved Eoia, however, is gored to death during a bull-game ceremony, partly as a result of Tammuzadad's jealous scheming. Dio avenges her novicelover's death and expresses her rebellion against the practice of human sacrifice by slaughtering the sacred bull. For this sacrilege, she is condemned to death: tied to a cross and about to be burnt, she is saved by Tamuzzadad, who has been forgiven by Dio, after confessing his guilt. He substitutes himself as a victim, in a supreme act of love and gratefulness to her, who taught him to believe in 'Him Who will come' and in the Cross. The novel ends with Dio leaving Crete with Tutankhamon, Akhenaton's ambassador, for more civilised Egypt, a country that does not practice human sacrifice, and where she hopes to find religious fulfilment in Akhenaton's new religion.[39]

As already pointed out, the foreword to *The Birth of the Gods* starts with a reference to the excavations by Evans at Knossos and his discovery of a marble cross in the Temple Repositories, and throughout the novel Merezhkovsky makes specific and precise allusions to Minoan material culture. For example, there are several mentions of bronze double axes, barebreasted women in typical Minoan dress, and bull-leaping figures as well as a description of the well-known Isopata gold ring, with an interpretation of its headless women as representing the madness of a frenzied dance;[40] one also finds the inevitable reference to toilets with flushing water, an aspect of Minoan Crete that struck many contemporaries as one of the most remarkable features of this ancient culture.[41] At the same time, however, Merezhkovsky takes considerable liberties, such as his envisaging bull-leaping ceremonies as taking place in an amphitheatre, describing human sacrifices in which victims are tied to a cross and then burnt, and even suggesting that the Cretans invented abortion, so that aristocratic women could keep their attractive figures.[42]

In any case, one should stress that *The Birth of the Gods* (like other works by this author) does not really aim at complete historical accuracy. Merezhkovsky's recreation of the past is clearly symbolic: his main preoccupation is with the religious and philosophical messages that he was trying to convey. As pointed out by other scholars, for him 'to remember the past is to predict the future',[43] and his 'cognition of the remote past was … an actual personal contact, made through the spirit'.[44] The result is that *The Birth of the Gods* is more a curious mixture of Merezhkovsky's mystical-symbolic interpretations, artistic inventions, and references to specific archaeological materials, which give some historical and local colour.

And yet, Merezhkovsky's artistic liberties and inventions also seem to find some kind of justification in his second 'Minoan' work to be discussed here, *The Secret of the West: Atlantis-Europe*, and also in his earlier work on Egyptian and Mesopotamian religions *(Taina Trekh: Egipet I Vavilon)*. Both resemble, in fact, historical commentaries on *The Birth of the Gods* and *Messiya/Akhnaton King of Egypt. The Secret of the West: Atlantis-Europe*, more specifically, is an exceptionally erudite but rather rambling religious-historical-philosophical treatise based on Merezhkovsky's study of archaeological, geological, anthropological, linguistic, biological, and historical sources. While one can only admire Merezhkovsky's wide-ranging interests and readings (from Homer to Ibsen and from Hittite archaeology to sub-oceanic physiography), his conclusions are usually reached on the basis of some vague similarity and wild speculation. The volume is a kind of rationalisation of the myth of Atlantis and its relationship to other similar narratives of deluge. For Merezhkovsky, Atlantis did really exist: Plato's myth, as recounted in *Critias* and *Timaeus*, was a recollection of a real location in the West, and a real historical event. Merezhkovsky, however, did not relate the myth of Atlantis to the collapse of the Minoan empire, as suggested by K. T. Frost in 1909, and to the Bronze Age eruption of Santorini, as famously proposed by Marinatos in

1939.[45] Merezhkovsky did link Atlantis with Crete, but his connection is rather more startling.

For Merezhkovsky, Atlantis was a kind of original, pre-Christian paradise in which the very first humanity lived (the present humanity being the second, and the third humanity yet to come). Atlantis was inhabited by bisexual androgynous people, who were at first virtuous and pious, but with the passage of time had become corrupted by arrogance and materialism – they had forgotten God and had become more warlike. Thus, they were punished with a great flood. Not all inhabitants perished, however, and the survivors moved from West to East, colonised Crete and, from there, the rest of the ancient world – even though, rather confusingly, among the Atlantis survivors Merezhkovsky also enlists the Aztecs and the Cro-Magnons![46] At any rate, according to Merezhkovsky, Bronze Age Crete provided the main link between the first and the second humanity, and between Atlantis and Europe. Evidence of this colonisation was illustrated, among other things, by the androgynous appearance of the Minoans and by their use of the double axe, which he interpreted as a symbol of bisexuality, proving that Crete had inherited the (secret) knowledge of divine bisexualism from Atlantis.

The Secret of the West may well appear as cranky nowadays, and is certainly not a good read. It reminded me of Edward Casaubon's futile *Key to All Mythologies* in George Eliot's novel *Middlemarch*.[47] Nevertheless, as already noted by other scholars, even if *The Birth of the Gods* and especially *The Secret of the West* do not show great artistic or historical merits, Merezhkovsky deserves some recognition for his attempt to situate Evans's new archaeological findings in a larger religious framework[48] – and, one may add, into some kind of universal history. The book, above all, has an eschatological character and a strong pacifist message: it is a passionate, if rather incoherent, attempt to save humanity through a condemnation of war, which is seen by the author as a second flood, created not by water, but by the blood and fire of conflict.

Summary and conclusions

To sum up and conclude, both Bakst's and Merezhkovsky's fascination with Minoan Crete stemmed from their broader and interlinked interests in the human body, sex, and ancient Greece, which eventually led them to an encounter with the material culture of this ancient world. They responded to the intriguing Minoan representations of the body by finding in them strong elements of sensuality, which would have perhaps embarrassed Sir Arthur Evans – who, on the contrary, seemed to have ignored or suppressed any possible erotic connotations, especially for his Minoan Great Mother Goddess.[49] But Merezhkovsky also sought in the archaeology of Crete elements of deep spirituality, a presage of Christian revelation. Both erotic and spiritual elements anticipate later responses to and uses of the Minoans, as illustrated, for example, in works by Kazantzakis 1958, 1965;[50] Graves 1949; Renault 1958; Hawkes 1968; Dempsey 1996; and Dintino 1999.

Bakst and Merezhkovsky also used the Minoan past as a springboard for the future. For Bakst, Minoan material culture was a means towards modernism: it represented an ancient artistic canon, which offered fresh inspirations and new solutions, and from which one could graft elements to create a new classical canon. For Merezhkovsky, the Minoan past was a means towards both an understanding of the roots of Christianity and the creation of a new Christianity that would lead to human salvation.

Bakst's and Merezhkovsky's interpretations are, of course, highly subjective, and reflect their preoccupations with the dilemmas and contradictions of the worlds that they experienced. Nevertheless, they are reactions to specific Minoan objects and representations of their ancient world. As such, they can still tell us something about Minoan Crete and can help us to reflect on other interpretations and preconceived ideas. To paraphrase Jauss,[51] they show that the significance of an archaeological discovery can also be found in the chain of its reception or, we might say, in different expressions of

Cretomania. They are also useful reminders that Minoan Crete can matter beyond its narrow disciplinary boundaries.

Appendix: selected catalogue of Bakst's works with Minoan allusions

1 *Terror Antiquus* (1908) (Figure 5.1A).State Russian Museum, St Petersburg, Russia; oil on canvas. In the bottom right corner of the painting (Figure 5.1A detail), the structures make allusions to the Lion Gate at Mycenae and the Knossian Town Mosaic faience plaques, both of which were sketched by Bakst, as attested in his surviving sketchbooks in St Petersburg and New York (Figure 5.1B). According to Pruzhan (1987, p. 16), the painting also makes allusions to the ruins of the Mycenaean palace at Tiryns, but these are not so easy to discern (see also Spencer 2009, p. 116).

2 Illustration for magazine *Apollon*, 1909 (Figure 5.2), showing Minoan columns (cf. Bakst's drawing of Minoan column in his Hermitage sketchbook, published in Davydova 2008, p. 277, fig. 16; see also Spencer 2009, p. 25).

3 Ballets Russes, *Narcisse* (premiere: 26 April 1911, Théâtre de Monte Carlo). Costume design for Bacchant (Figure 5.3A), showing Minoanising lily and braided foliage motifs. Original sketch by Bakst in the Museum Stravinsky-Diaghilev, Venice (cf. Spencer 2009, p. 130, first published by The Fine Art Society, London 1913).

4 Ballets Russes. *Narcisse* (cf. Appendix no. 3). Costume design for a nymph (Figures 5.4A–5.4B) (cf. Spencer 2009, p. 128; original in Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg, Alsace, France). This shows a braided foliage which recalls, very closely, representations found in Minoan iconography, e.g. on the Knossos Town Mosaic plaques (Figure 5.4C) and on the Ayia Triada *Cat Stalking a Pheasant* fresco (Figure 5.4D). The actual costume also shows a shawl with braided foliage similar to Figure 5.3D.

5 Ballets Russes, *Narcisse* (cf. Appendix no. 3). Costume design for Echo (Figure 5.5), showing a braided foliage motif similar to that employed in Appendix no. 4 above (see also Spencer 2009, p. 127).

6 *Hélène de Sparte*, set design (Figure 5.6). Tragedy in four acts (see Verhaeren 1912), which had its Parisian premiere in 1912, starring Bakst's muse, Ida Rubinstein, in the title role (cf. also Spencer 2009, p. 154). The design shows two Lion Gates (cf. Figure 5.1A) and various Minoan columns, some decorated with Minoan spirals; the faces carved on the rocks recall both the famous gold masks from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and the painted plaster head found by Tsountas, also at Mycenae, in 1896 (Tsountas 1902, p. 152; Marinatos & Hirmer 1960, p. 104–108, colour pls. XLI–XLII; Hood 1978, 102). The building recalls the faience plaques from the Knossos temple repositories (cf. Figure 5.1B).

7 *Hélène de Sparte* (cf. Appendix no. 6). Costume design for Menelaus (Figure 5.7A). This sketch, seen by the author in January 2011 in New York, shows three Minoan decorative motifs found on Late Minoan pottery (see, e.g., Figures 5.7B–5.7D). A note in the top-right corner of the sketch, in Bakst's handwriting, gives instruction to reuse this design to produce costumes for three brigands in the ballet *Daphnis and Chloe*, which premiered in Paris in 1912 (cf. Appendix no. 16 below).

8 *Hélène de Sparte* (cf. Appendix no. 6). Costume design for male character, employing Minoan/Aegean running spirals as decorative motifs (Figure 5.8).

9 *Hélène de Sparte* (cf. Appendix no. 6). Costume design for Pollux (Figure 5.9), with Minoan running spirals on the sleeves and collar as well as a spray of 'sacral-ivy' in red on blue; the spiraliform design on the purple cloak is similar to a Minoan motif used in the sketch for a nymph's costume in *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (cf. Appendix no. 13, below). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

10 *Hélène de Sparte* (cf. Appendix no. 6). Costume design (Figures 5.10A–5.10E) for Ida Rubinstein as Helen, using Minoan sacral ivy combined with a crocus motif (cf. Spencer 2009, p. 156).

11 *Hélène de Sparte* (cf. Appendix no. 6). Costume design for Electra (Figures 5.11A–5.11B), employing two main decorative motifs derived from Middle Minoan pottery (Art Institute Chicago: Sidney A. Kent Fund, 1920.252: http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/80312?search_id=1). Bakst modelled his own decorative details on a well-known piece of Kamares pottery from Knossos (Figure 5.11B). The larger pink motif in Bakst's sketch reproduces faithfully the Minoan design, but the smaller green motif simplifies the Minoan original in having only four diamond-shaped elements instead of five.

12 Ballets Russes, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (premiere: 29 May 1912, Paris). Costume design for nymph, with Aegean spirals and wavy lines modelled on Minoan pottery (Figures 5.12A–5.12B). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut.

13 Ballets Russes, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (cf. Appendix no. 12). Costume design for nymph, with green spiraliform motif (Figure 5.13A). New York Public Library, Catalog Call Number: PC STAG-Bal; Digital ID: 834044; Record ID: 708134.

14 Ballets Russes, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (cf. Appendix no. 12). Sketch of Nijinsky as the Faune with scarf (Figure 5.14). The dotted spiral motif on the scarf is closely reminiscent of Late Minoan IA pottery decoration. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut. See also Spencer 2009, p. 149.

15 Ballets Russes, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (cf. Appendix no. 12, above), nymphs' costumes, hairstyle, and gestures (Figures 5.15A–5.15B). The nymphs are provided with very long hair-locks, reaching below their waist, which seems much closer to Minoan than Archaic iconography.

Their make-up, highlighting their eyes and lips, is also more closely reminiscent of the Knossian 'La Parisienne' fresco than of Archaic Greek statues, which were not commonly thought to be brightly painted at the time. Some of the nymphs' gestures are also reminiscent of those one can find among the women (possibly dancing) in the well-known 'Sacred Grove' fresco from Knossos (e.g. arm raised to shoulder level, and forearm and hand bent towards the face). Both the 'Sacred Grove' and 'La Parisienne' frescoes appear in Bakst's St Petersburg sketchbook (cf. Davydova 2008, fig. 24a).

16 Ballets Russes, *Daphnis and Chloe* (premiere: 8th of June 1912, Paris). Costume design for Darkon (Figure 5.16), using typical Minoan stylized papyrus motif (cf. Figure 5.7; in private collection).

17 Ballets Russes, *Daphnis and Chloe* (cf. Appendix no. 16). Design of costume for a shepherd (Figure 5.17), using stylized papyrus motif on the costume (cf. Figure 5.7) and running spirals with wavy lines on the hat (cf. Figure 5.12). New York Public Library Catalog Call Number: PC STAG-Bal; Digital ID: 834043; Record ID: 708133.

18 Ballets Russes, *Daphnis and Chloe* (cf. Appendix no. 16). Costume for a young brigand (Figure 5.18) with concentric chevrons, a motif that goes back to Neolithic times on Crete, but that is particularly common on Late Minoan/Late Helladic III pottery. The artist Mariano Fortuny was similarly attracted to this motif (cf. Caloi 2011, Tavola Ia). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/all/costume_design_of_brigand_boy_in_daphnis_and_chloe_leon_bakst/objectview.aspx?page=2&sort=4&sortdir=asc&keyword=%22Leon%20Bakst%22&fp=1&dd1=0&dd2=0&vw=1&collID=0&OID=90001934&vT=1&hi=0&ov=0. The actual costume based on this design is now in the National Gallery of Australia (NGA 1973.270.121.A-C); see also

http://www.nga.gov.au/Exhibition/Edwardians/Detail.cfm7IRN=107473&BioArtistIRN=19455&MnuID=2).

19 Ballets Russes, *Daphnis and Chloe* (cf. Appendix no. 16). Original costume for shepherd, using stylised papyrus motif (cf. Figure 5.7). Dance Museum Stockholm: Spencer 2009, p. 143.

20 Ballets Russes, *Daphnis and Chloe* (cf. Appendix no. 16). Costume for a shepherd, employing stylized 'sacral ivy' motif (cf. Figure 5.9). See Spencer 2009, p. 142; see also Victoria and Albert Museum: http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/d/diaghilev-and-the-ballets-russes/. Bakst designed a closely comparable costume for *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 35, below).

21 *Phèdre*, Ida Rubinstein's Paris 1923 production, based on the 1909 tragedy *Fedra* by Gabriele D'Annunzio with music by Ildebrando Pizzetti. Set design (Figure 5.19). This shows Minoan columns decorated with Minoan spirals, double axe combined with sacral-knot motif, and octopus; the set also makes allusions to the 'Grand Staircase' of Knossos, and to the Griffin fresco found in the 'Throne Room'. Musée de l'Opéra National de Paris.

22 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Set design (Figure 5.20). Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum.

23 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Set design, once exhibited in the former Galleria del Levante, Milan: see Spencer 2009, p. 90.

24 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Set design, Israel Museum, Jerusalem: see Spencer 2009, p. 90.

25 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Set design (Figure 5.21), Paris, National Museum of Modern Art, Pompidou Centre, inv. JP 561 P (1). See also Boucher 2014, p. 165, cat. 293.

26 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Set design (Figure 5.22). Paris, National Museum of Modern Art, Pompidou

Centre, inv. AM 1974–170. See also Boucher 2014, p. 165, cat. 294.

27 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Set design, private collection (?): see Schouvaloff 1991, pp. 226.

28 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Costume design for Ida Rubinstein in the title role (Figure 5.23A, using a Minoan double axe combined with horns of consecrations and double axe combined with bucranium as decorative motifs (Museum of Modern Art Mastery, MAGMA). The costume also uses spirals and wavy lines similar to Figure 5.12. The bucranium/horns of consecration/double axe combination is illustrated in Bakst's Cretan sketchbook in the New York Public Library (Figure 5.23B). The original motif comes from a pot found in Enkomi, Cyprus, now in the British Museum (first published in Murray *et al.* 1900; cf. also Furumark 1941, p. 327, fig. 55: Motif 35.22). The source for Bakst's sketch, however, is certainly Figure 5.23C (after Evans 1901, p. 107, fig. 3).

29 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Costume design for female character modelled on fresco from Tiryns (Figures 5.24A–5.24B). Private collection (Spencer 2009, p. 166).

30 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Costume design for female character employing Minoan stylized papyrus motif (Figure 5.25).

31 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Costume design for messenger, employing Minoan stylised papyrus and 'sacral ivy' motif. Paris, Musée de L'Opera (after Farnoux, 2003, fig. 10).

32 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Costume design for male character employing stylised 'sacral ivy' and running spiral motifs on tunic (Figure 5.26). Paris, National Museum of Modern Art, Pompidou Centre.

33 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Costume design for female character (Figure 5.27), employing double axe and

stylized papyrus motif (cf. Figure 5.7). Paris, National Museum of Modern Art, Pompidou Centre. A similar image is illustrated in Spencer 2009, p. 170.

34 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Costume designs for old woman and Theseus (Figure 5.28), employing sacral ivy motif. Private collection (?) *L'Illustration* no. 4422, 3 December 1927.

35 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Costume design for male character (Figure 5.29), employing 'sacral ivy' motif, very similar to costume used in *Daphnis and Chloe* (cf. Appendix no. 19). Private collection (?)

36 *Phèdre* (cf. Appendix no. 21). Design for set props (Figure 5.30A), modelled on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus (Figure 5.30B).

37 Designs for couturier Jeanne Paquin (Figure 5.31).

38 Design for couturier Jeanne Paquin (Spencer 2009, p. 177).

Notes

1 I offer my sincere thanks to: the French School in Athens, and especially to Lucile and Alexandre Farnoux, for hosting Cretomania; the Director of the British School in Athens, Cathy Morgan; the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition of the University of Bristol; all the participants to 'Cretomania', Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw, David Konstan, and Yannis Hamilakis for their remarks on earlier versions of this chapter (and of the introduction); Ruth Coates and Catriona McLeod for help with things Russian; Ann Leaver and Sue Grice for help with the illustrations; and Roger Lonsdale for his patient help with the niceties of the English language and for his unfailing sense of humour.

2 Hogarth & Bosanquet 1899, p. 321.

3 On the 'archaeological colonisation' of Crete and its consequences, and on the link between political hegemony and scholarship, see e.g. McEnroe 2002; Momigliano 2002. Concerning Russian involvement in Cretan researches, the only exception appears to be a Russian scholar, who, nevertheless, visited the island before the *Kritiki Politeia* in search of medieval manuscripts and is mentioned in letters by Halbherr to Comparetti of 1887: see La Rosa 1986, p. 58. More closely related to the Russian presence on Crete and the rediscovery of Minoan Crete during the *Kritiki Politeia* are some publications by the Polish Jesuit priest Marcin Czermiński, who travelled to Crete in 1899 and 1903, to look after the spiritual needs of the Polish Catholic soldiers in the Russian army (Serrano & Bzinkowski 2012).

4 As shown, for example, by the work of Pavel Florensky, besides that of Bakst and Merezkovsky: see Florensky 2002 (essay on Aegean culture). One should note that, not surprisingly, the diffusion of information about Minoan Crete in Russia occurred largely through French sources, from newspapers to publications such as Reinach 1904 and Lagrange 1908.

5 See Etkind 2011, p. 254 and *passim*.

6 Cf. also Blakolmer, Chapter 3 in this volume.

7 For an overview of Bakst's life and theatrical productions, see Spencer 1973, 2009; Pruzhan 1987; Schouvaloff 1991; see also Buckle 1993 [1979], Garafola 1998 (all with further bibliographies).

8 Bowlt 2009, p. 58.

9 See also Bedford 1975, p. 113; Cassedy 2005, p. 7.

10 Pruzhan 1987; Chagall 1989.

11 Rosenthal 1974, 1975, 1986; Scholl 1994, p. viii and pp. 40–41; Grillaert 2008; Coates 2010.

12 See Bakst 2012.

13 Gusarova (1972, p. 65), Pruzhan (1987, p. 15), and others have suggested that the subject of *Terror Antiquus* derives from the legend of the sunken city of Atlantis (cf. Davidson 2009, esp. p. 13; see also Misler 2002, p. 54, citing Pavel Florensky). Spencer (2009, p. 48) reports that 'the subject has been variously described as the destruction of the Minoan Empire, the nemesis of Atlantis, or even the last judgment of the Greek world'.

14 This connexion seems to have been suggested first by T.K. Frost in 1909 (cf. note 45, below).

15 Bakst & Johnson 1990, p. 182. A French version was published a year later in Paris (Bakst 1910).

16 Bakst & Johnson 1990.

17 Bakst & Johnson 1990, p. 180.

18 Spencer 2009, p. 86. The comments refer to his designs for *Hélène de Sparte*, but they can be applied equally to other productions such as *Narcisse* or *Daphnis and Chloe*.

19 Caloi 2011, esp. pp. 215–220 and 231, figs. 20–24, 35, and pl. XVI. See also Caloi, Chapter 4 in this volume.

20 On Merezhkovsky's translation, see Rosenthal 1975, pp. 61–63.

21 For other Minoan elements in this ballet, see Momigliano 2013.

22 For works in English on Merezhkovsky, see Bedford 1975; Rosenthal 1975; Pachmuss 1990; Christensen 1996, all with further references.

23 http://www.nobelprize.org/consulted on 10/08/2013

24 For Merezhkovsky's bibliography, see Bedford 1975; Pachmuss 1990, with further bibliography.

25 For example, dancing features quite largely in *The Birth of the Gods* in general, and the description of a slow dance by the priestesses of the Moon, veiled in

transparent bluish tissue, like a 'moonlit cloud' (p. 70), reminds one of some of Bakst's revealing costumes and of Isadora Duncan, who famously preferred to dance against a simple background of blue curtains, and also used semitransparent tunics. Similarly, in *Messiya*, Dio's dance for Akhnaton, in which she emerges from a coffin in all her androgynous beauty, recalls quite closely the description of Ida Rubinstein's arrival on the stage in the 1910 ballet *Cléopâtre:* cf. de Cossart 1987, pp. 15–18; Spencer 2009, p. 55.

26 Bedford 1975, p. 147.

27 Bedford 1975, preface.

28 Bedford 1975, p. 85 (quoting from *Peter and Alexis*).

29 See, especially, his poem 'Acropolis' cited in Rosenthal 1975, p. 59; see also Bedford 1975, p. 42.

30 As cited in Bedford 1975, p. 159.

31 Merezhkovsky 1925, preface.

32 Merezhkovsky 1925, preface.

33 Evans 1903, esp. p. 86: 'This indigenous Goddess, of whom Rhea as well as Artemis may often be regarded as the Hellenised equivalent, belongs to the very ancient class of Virgin Mothers'. Cf. also Morris 2006, 2010.

34 Members of Merezhkovsky's Cretan elite speak Egyptian fluently, a practice probably modelled on the use of French among Russian and other European elites in the 18th–early 20th centuries.

35 Bedford (1975, p. 154) thinks that the novel represents also a rebellion against 'the full integration of the state and its religion, which is represented by the equality of the tsar-beast – the Cretan king wearing the head of a bull – and the high priestess of Ma', in an easily recognisable analogy to autocracy and Orthodoxy in Russia.

36 Merezhkovsky 1925, p. 90.

37 The religious quality of dancing evokes Nijinsky's and Duncan's own views on the subject: see Momigliano 2013, with further references.

38 Merezhkovsky 1925, p. 196.

39 As mentioned above, *The Birth of the Gods* is followed by a sequel, *Messiya* (i.e. Engl. trans. *Akhnaton: King of Egypt)*, in which the author follows the story of Dio in Egypt at the time of Akhnaton's failed attempt to impose a form of monotheism. This novel, which has also been interpreted as a metaphor for the Bolshevik revolution (Bedford 1975, p. 155), presents yet again the author's religious concerns about the existence of Christianity before Christ, the significance of sex, the attractiveness of androgynous figures, dancing as a religious experience, etc. (e.g. Dio, in this novel, has a platonic but erotically charged relationship with Akhnaton, partly expressed through her dancing). For comments on *Messiya* from an Egyptological perspective see Monserrat 2000, pp. 157–160.

40 The ring was found during excavations conducted in 1909–1910 (Evans 1913–1914, p. 10 fig. 16); for ecstatic dance in Minoan Crete, see Evans 1921–1935, vol. 3, p. 140.

41 On flushing toilets cf. also, e.g., Bury 1913, p. 14.

42 Merezhkovsky 1925, p. 153.

43 Rosenthal 1975, p. 221.

44 Bedford 1975, p. 100.

45 Frost, K.T. *The Times*, 19 February 1909; see also Frost 1913; Marinatos 1939. Mavor 1969, p. 52 reports that Auguste Nicaise, in a lecture of 1885 (two years after the Krakatoa eruption), had linked Thera with Atlantis, but this was, of course, well before the discoveries on Crete. Baike 1910 also suggested that Plato's Atlantis contains memories of Minoan Crete.

46 See also Christensen 1996, p. 68; Rosenthal 1975, pp. 164–165.

47 Eliot's Casaubon and his never-completed magnum opus seem to have been inspired by G.F. Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie* – a work which maintained that Greek mythology contained symbolic elements of earlier revelations, and which, not surprisingly, is cited on several occasions in *The Secret of the West*. On Creuzer and *Middlemarch*, see Humphreys 2004 (her Chapter 5, on 'Historicizing Fertility') as well as Pratt & Neufeldt 1979, pp. xlvii–xlviii (introduction).

48 Christensen 1996, p. 76.

49 As can be gathered from his writings: see, e.g., his discussion of the attributes of the Minoan Mother Goddess (Evans 1903; Evans 1921–35, *passim*, see also Morris 2006).

50 Some of the similarities between Merezhkovsky's and Kazantzakis's reception of Minoan Crete are quite striking (see, e.g., passages in the latter's *Report to Greco* discussing his visits to Knossos, the existence of a never-changing god behind all religious symbols, the use of dance and sex as means to communicate with god, Crete as Atlantis, and the battle between man and god-bull). This is most likely due to broad intellectual affinities, such as their admiration for Nietzsche and especially their deep religious spirituality, despite contrasting political views (Merezhkovsky hated the Bolsheviks, whereas Kazantzakis was a great admirer of Lenin). For Kazantzakis's reading of Merezhkovsky's work on Julian the apostate, see Bien 2011, pp. 401–402.

51 Jauss 1982, p. 20.

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Chapter 6

Lord of the dance: Ted Shawn's *Gnossienne* and its Minoan context

Christine Morris

On December 17, 1919, Ted Shawn first performed the short solo dance *Gnossienne* as part of the Denishawn Dancers repertoire in Los Angeles, California (Figure 6.1). To quote Shawn's own words: 'to music by Erik Satie, I represented a priest of ancient Crete going through a ritual at the altar of the snake goddess'.[1] Only the single male dancer is seen; both the altar and the goddess for whom he dances are to be imagined off stage.

Although *Gnossienne* is now rarely danced and, indeed, is little known outside dance circles, it was a very popular piece throughout the life of the Denishawn company, and Shawn performed it regularly over a thirty-year period. It was also later performed by Shawn's protégée, Barton Mumaw (first on March 21, 1933). In turn, Mumaw choreographed a young dancer, Jack Clark, to perform the piece at a special 'Denishawn weekend' in April 1984, which celebrated the acquisition of the Killinger Collection of Denishawn costumes and equipment by the Dance Department of Florida State University. This collection includes an original costume worn by Ted Shawn to perform *Gnossienne*, but more of that later. The Martha Graham Dance Company has also performed *Gnossienne* in more recent years.[2]

In this chapter I explore the Minoan inspiration behind Shawn's *Gnossienne* and then consider how it fits into wider receptions and adaptations of things Minoan in the early 20th century. I also seek to contextualise *Gnossienne* within the eclectic and heady mix of influences drawn upon by Shawn and his wife and dance partner, Ruth St. Denis. First of all, it is necessary to provide some background on Ted Shawn himself.

When the origins and early stages of modern dance are discussed today, most people will instantly think of Isadora Duncan, the Ballets Russes, and Martha Graham. Fewer, perhaps, will cite Ruth St. Denis or Ted Shawn and their Denishawn Dance Company.[3] Yet, in their heyday, they were world famous and, as the major male figure in this founding phase of modern dance, Shawn is often referred to as the 'Father of American Dance'.[4] As *Gnossienne* is a male solo, I am more concerned with Shawn than St. Denis here, but their complex relationship, both personal and professional, is also relevant to the discussion.

Ted Shawn (Edwin Myers Shawn) was born on October 21, 1891, in Kansas, Missouri, the younger son of Mary Lee Booth Shawn and Elmer Ellsworth Shawn, a newspaper editor.[5] Both his mother and his older brother died within a year of each other when he was only eleven years of age. His father remarried and moved to Denver, and it was there that he completed his schooling and entered college with the aim of training for the Christian ministry. In his third year in college, he was stricken with diphtheria and was paralysed from the waist down. He used dance as physical therapy to help his recovering body, and from that traumatic experience he decided to dedicate his life to dance rather than to religion.[6] He started a small touring dance company with Norma Gould in Los Angeles in 1912. Shawn also directed and appeared in an early Edison film, *Dances of the Ages*, in 1913, in which his company showed the development of dance from prehistoric man, the Greeks and Romans, peasant traditions, and through to modern ragtime.[7]

The following year, 1914, he married Ruth St. Denis, who was already internationally known (and twelve years his senior). Together they founded the Denishawn Dancers and the Denishawn School. Both were highly successful, and from 1915 they toured widely in North America, Europe, and the Far East (1925–26). The relationship between St. Denis and Shawn was creative but stormy, and by 1930 they had separated (they

never divorced), and Shawn's subsequent relationships were with men, although he was not open about his homosexuality until later in life.[8]

Shawn then set up his own male dancing group, 'Ted Shawn and His Men Dancers', at Jacob's Pillow farm in Massachusetts. Throughout his career, Shawn was consistent in championing the male role in dance, and in challenging stereotypical notions of male dancers as effeminate. For Shawn, dance was 'a manly sport, more strenuous than golf or tennis, more exciting than boxing or wrestling, and more beneficent than gymnastics'.[9] By taking up this position that dance was 'manly', Shawn was able to occupy a 'respectable' space, suitable for white, conservative, and Christian values, yet he restricted himself personally and emotionally to 'a closet of his own making'.[10] Throughout his long career, Shawn created hundreds of individual dances and ballets, including over 185 for the Denishawn Company. He also wrote a number of books, and these offer important insights into his methods and ideas.[11]

His biographer, Walter Terry, describes how Shawn first saw, and was entranced by, St. Denis (or 'Miss Ruth', as she liked to be called) in 1911 in a performance of her signature dance *The Incense*, where she lights an offering of incense – creating swirling plumes of smoke which frame her as she performs a slow and sinuous dance to the god (Figure 6.2).[12] Her interest in both the exotic and the spiritual dates back to her earliest dances, such as *Radha* (1906). In *Radha* she presents herself as the Hindu goddess, beloved by Krishna, dancing through various states of physical and spiritual rapture, and surrounded by male worshippers in a temple. She took care, it is reported, to create a truly exotic visual and olefactory experience for her audience by placing some Hindu gentlemen in the entrance to the theatre and by lighting incense.[13] This 'Oriental' setting tapped into Western ideas of the erotic and exotic, and numerous artists and performers at this time drew extensively on non-Western exotic and ethnic traditions as a self-conscious means of breaking away from traditional forms. St. Denis'

Orientalism seems to have been eclectic and not rooted in a deep knowledge of non-Western art forms or of particular philosophies, though she researched the cultures which interested her in libraries and museums. Whether expressed in philosophy, literature, dance, or in the fashion for Oriental furnishings in the home (from Turkish rugs to ostrich feathers), the idea was to evoke a general atmosphere of the Oriental, not to recreate anything specific or authentic.[14]

In the Denishawn repertoire, which St. Denis and Shawn developed together, 'Orientalia' was one of the standard headings on their concert programmes, alongside 'Musical Visualisations', 'Divertissements', and individual ballets.[15] The dances, costumes, and staging all show ample evidence of the influence of the many traditions of the Far East (India, Japan, China, Thailand). Other visual and narrative sources included the historical cultures of the Mediterranean and Near East, and the cultures of the Americas. These were brought together in the 1916 *Pageant of Egypt, Greece and India*, a lavish spectacle of 170 dancers, in which Ted Shawn was the only male performer.

The task of creating a serious male presence in modern dance was a real challenge at that time. Within the familiar Oriental template, Shawn partnered with St. Denis as an Egyptian pharaoh (Figure 6.3) or an Arab sheik, and for his solo performances he drew on warrior themes with weapons, such as *Dagger Dance* (1914) and *Japanese Spear Dance* (1919) to develop more 'manly dances'. Moving beyond St. Denis' focus on the Orient, Shawn developed his interest in traditions nearer to hand, the dances and rituals of American Indians, which he saw as well-suited to his mission to show that dance could be masculine.[16] He reports on having seen a Hopi ritual dance and, significantly, praises it as being as complex and as colourful as the ballets of Bakst.[17] From a modern multi-cultural perspective, such impersonations by the 'white, male body performing black, Asian, American-Indian, or other non-white subject matter'[18] seem insensitive and inappropriate, yet

non-Western cultures played a central and inspirational role in the making of modernism in the creative arts. Shawn describes his approach to his 'adaptations', saying that the artist's role is to 'use authentic themes as seeds from which to produce an art creation of his own'.[19] Examples of such research and adaptation included an extensive study of ancient imagery for the Aztec ballet *Xochitl* (1921), in which Martha Graham danced alongside Shawn, and the creation of copies of Katchina masks he had seen in the Smithsonian Museum for another American Indian ballet, *Feather of Dawn* (1923).

He also had strong interests in Greek imagery and philosophy. Barton Mumaw, his pupil and lover, relates that the rhythm of the day's training in later years at Jacob's Pillow included 'Lunch in the nude, followed by Shawn's reading aloud to us. (Some of this was heavy going - Gilbert Murray and Greek poetry, Ouspensky's Tertium Organum, Havelock Ellis, Aristophanes, Goethe.)'[20]

Like others, Shawn was drawn to the Greek ideal of the body beautiful and its aesthetics of nudity, and he was attracted, too, by its positive view of homosexual love (hence his interest in the writings of Havelock Ellis as lunchtime readings). He used his *Death of Adonis* (1923) to break the taboo of nudity on stage – his body, fig leaf, and curled hair all coated in white to create the impression of a marble statue moving in animated poses. In doing this, he was, remarkably, able to avoid criticisms of homoeroticism, perhaps because the white statue-like body seemed controlled and disciplined, rather than passionate and desiring.[21] Further explorations into Greek ideas came with his *Prometheus Bound* (1929) and *The Divine Idiot* (based on Plato's shadow watchers), and, even later, with his acclaimed *Kinetic Molpai*, created for his male dancers (1935).

We return now to Shawn's *Gnossienne*, to its origins and Shawn's costume (Figure 6.1). The dance originated in 1917 simply as a practice piece with strict two-dimensional movement, designed in accordance with Delsartean principles

as a means of helping the dance students achieve greater bodily control. It was to be executed with the body in strict profile but with the torso frontal throughout; the movements of arms and legs were clean and sharp.[22]

St. Denis encouraged him to develop it into a dance for the Denishawn programme, and the piece made its debut on December 17, 1919, in a Los Angeles theatre. Shawn, first of all, selected the musical accompaniment: a piece by the avant-garde composer Erik Satie, *Gnossienne No. 1* (1890), to be played 'with absolute unchanging rhythm throughout' in accordance with Satie's comments on the score. It was the music, then, that provided the name for the dance and pointed Shawn towards Minoan Crete for narrative inspiration. Whether Satie had things Cretan in mind in coining the word 'Gnossienne' is a matter of scholarly debate. Most likely the word is linked to 'gnosis' or right knowledge, since Satie was known to have links with Rosicrucian ideas.[23] A further link with Knossos (which is sometime spelt Gnosus/Gnossus or Gnosos/Gnossos, in its Latinised versions), and the Crane Dance performed by Theseus and the youths who escaped the Labyrinth and its terrifying inhabitant, the Minotaur, is also possible. But it seems to have been Shawn who made the explicit link between Satie's music and Minoan Crete through the narrative and staging of his dance.

The theme of the dance is clearly recorded in dance programme notes and other writings: the priest of Knossos, alone on the stage, performs his ritual dance before the altar of the Snake Goddess, and as already noted, the goddess and her altar are unseen and off stage.[24] An obvious question to ask is: what did Shawn know about Minoan Crete, and how? The Denishawn repertoire already included imagery and narratives with exotic and ethnic themes, and, as discussed earlier, Shawn is known to have conducted research from books and museums as a basis for his 'adaptations'. It is also possible that Shawn was aware of Bakst's extensive use of Minoan designs in costumes and sets for the Ballets Russes.[25]

Shawn's general awareness of Crete can also be documented in another way. His book, *Ruth St. Denis: Pioneer and Prophet*, appeared in 1920. While it is hagiographic in tone, it also provides fascinating insights into her international standing in the early 1900s (long before Shawn had met her), dancing for royalty and, intriguingly, in the studio of the painter Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema. Much like a modern celebrity endorsement, she modelled the first Fortuny Knossos scarves. As Shawn relates:

> On November 24, 1907, Mariano Fortuny opened his studio in Berlin and displayed the marvelous hand-wrought veils from the Cretan city of Knossos. Ruth St Denis danced in these veils and received two of them signed by Fortuny as a tribute.[26]

While this anecdote and the overall dance theme of the Snake Goddess and her priest indicate a general knowledge of Minoan Crete and its archaeological finds, the specific inspiration behind the costume worn by Shawn's dancing priest comes from the vibrantly coloured Knossos frescoes, in particular the Cupbearer, found in the first year of Evans' excavations in 1900 (Figure 6.4).[27] It seems possible that the Priest King relief fresco, found a year later, also influenced the details of the costume, although this is not cited in any of the dance literature. Interestingly, brochures for later performances by Shawn and Mumaw strongly imply inspiration from more than one fresco; for example, a brochure from 1942 introduces *Gnossienne* as 'in the costume of ancient Crete, and with the stylized two-dimensional movements based on wall-paintings from the Palace of Knossos, Shawn represents a Priest of the Snake Goddess of Crete, dancing his worship'.[28] It is not clear exactly where he encountered the images, but the Cupbearer was by this time a well-known and widely disseminated image, a poster boy for Minoan Crete. American newspapers and magazines, like those in Europe, had widely reported Evans' finds at Knossos from 1900 onwards.[29] One possibility is that Shawn might have seen the reproductions by Emile Gilliéron

père on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which commissioned copies of a number of important Minoan finds, often before they were fully published. The museum purchased a watercolour reconstruction of the Cupbearer in 1909, while the Priest King was assembled in plaster in 1907, based on a photograph by Gilliéron *père* of his first 1905 reconstruction.[30]

Females in Minoan art garnered the greatest press, then as now; Pottier's caressing words on La Parisienne provide a fairly typical, though eloquent, response to her 'spicy modernism':

> Her disheveled hair, the provocative kiss curl on her forehead, her enormous eye and sensual mouth, stained a violent red in the original … this mixture of naïve archaism and spicy modernism, this quick sketch traced by a paintbrush on a wall at Knossos more than three thousand years ago to give us the impression of a Daumier or a Degas, this Pasiphae who looks like a habitué of Parisian bars … there is something about the discovery of this unheard-of art that we find stunning, even scandalous.[31]

Despite the huge fascination with the Minoan female body,[32] male images were also described in glowing terms. As the first well-preserved face of a Minoan to emerge from Knossos, the Cupbearer was much admired and discussed. Writing soon after the discovery, Evans describes the Cupbearer as 'a beautiful life-size painting of a youth with a European and almost classically Greek profile gives us the first real knowledge of the race who produced this mysterious early civilization'.[33] In a somewhat later description, the British archaeologist, John Pendlebury, is appreciative of the Cupbearer's physique and relates it to modern Cretans:

> The present-day Cretan has, indeed, much of the Minoan in him … All over the island today you see the wasp waists, no longer artificially restricted but still emphasized by the long silk girdle, the slim hips,

> the high square shoulders and the long legs. Many a village boy might be the direct descendant of the Cup-Bearer or the Priest King, and who can deny the possibility that he might be? Minoan too is the sense of style which your modern Cretan has above all other Greeks.[34]

It is not at all difficult to see how Shawn, with his interests in the athletic male body, would have been drawn to such Minoan imagery, adding it to the eclectic collection of exotic and ethnic imagery that regularly inspired the narratives and costumes of Denishawn.

Shawn adapted the main elements of the fresco imagery to his own artistic needs for the costume. Bare-chested like the Minoan figures, the main garment was a pair of tight-fitting shorts with rolled edging on the legs, together with an additional padded tubular waistband. Similar tubes of fabric encircled his upper arms and his head. The shorts bear a repeated spiral design edged with dots, and there are additional striped bands vertically back and front, as well as around the waist and the lower edge of the legs (Figure 6.1).[35] A second, slightly different version of the costume can be observed in some photographs, where the dotting around the spirals is absent and the spirals more closely spaced (Figure 6.5).[36] The form of the shorts seems to evoke elements of both frescoes – the accentuated waistband is visible in both; the armbands on the upper arm are seen on the Cupbearer;[37] the general shape of the shorts and their striped edging seems to reference the Priest King. The tubular headband is Shawn's own addition. Interestingly, Mumaw later wrote that the encircling 'rather graceless rolls of fabric' represented the snakes of the goddess,[38] suggesting either that the Minoan origin of the armbands had been forgotten or that an additional significance had become attached to them over time within the context of the dance.

The spirals, executed in a woodblock print, on the shorts bear no similarity to the clothing on the two frescoes; rather,

they recall motifs on Minoan pottery. Similar spirals are to be found among the rich repertoire of Minoan motifs used by Bakst, in particular for the Ballets Russes *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*, where they appear on costume designs for the nymphs and on the scarf taken, and used erotically, by Nijinsky as the faun.[39] First performed in Paris in 1912, amidst great controversy for its overt sexuality,[40] the ballet premiered in New York in the spring of 1916,[41] allowing for the possibility of Bakst's imagery influencing Shawn. Unsurprisingly, given Shawn's advocacy of manly dance with the boundaries of 'conservative propriety',[42] there are only a few references to the Russian ballet in his writings, despite ballet being one of the elements of Denishawn training and both dance traditions being deeply infused with Orientalism. The differences between the Diaghilev and Denishawn strains of Orientalism lay in the apparent ability of St. Denis and Shawn to blend the exotic with the wholesome in contrast to the animalistic and dangerous sexuality of the Ballet Russes; or, as Jowitt neatly encapsulates in recounting the contemporary fashion for posing with veils and scarfs, some were 'inheritors of the savage Ballets Russes tradition, others more saintly in the St. Denis manner'.[43]

Published images of *Gnossienne* showing Shawn in the key postures of the dance are all in sepia or black and white.[44] Indeed, the glorious and intense colours of the Denishawn costumes are only rarely glimpsed in the occasional tinted images and paintings, especially for posters. The *Gnossienne* costume is preserved as part of the Killinger Collection of costumes from both the Denishawn Company and Ted Shawn and His Men Dancers, curated at the Florida State University Department of Dance.[45] The shorts are a deep red, trimmed with blue, black, and white bands; and the spiral designs are black (Figure 6.6). The rolls of fabric are a dull gold with an inner edging of red.[46] The intense colours and the specific colour scheme take their cue from the Minoan Cupbearer.

The Killinger Collection also holds a model bull's head that Shawn picked up on his travels and what seems to be a rare photograph of Shawn wearing a bull's head mask in a later dance, *The Death of a God* (1929). A continuing Cretan connection seems tantalizingly likely, but requires further research.[47]

There are numerous comments in the dance literature about Shawn's perceived lack of good taste when it came to costumes. An interesting anecdote about the *Gnossienne* costume merits retelling, as it hints at further interest on Shawn's part in the details of male Minoan dress. It seems that the first design for the costume not only had the rolls of fabric around the waist and lower edges of the shorts, but also between his legs, a 'crotch tire' as St. Denis delightfully termed it.[48] St. Denis seems to have skillfully headed off this potential costume disaster by telling him that the tires were terribly original, but that he had one tire too many and it spoiled the line of his beautiful legs! On reflection, it seems entirely possible that Shawn was trying to incorporate the Minoan codpiece into his costume, an element visible on the Priest King fresco but not the Cupbearer.

The dance itself lasts only two minutes. The dancer enters with bent knees, the arms angled up at the elbow, hands at right angles, fingers stiffly pointed, the head facing in the opposite direction. As the music changes, so the body moves in sharp precision, always remaining in flat profile, recalling the frescoes and other bas-relief imagery which exerted a strong influence on dance at this time – as, for example, in Nijinsky's aforementioned famous *L'Après-midi d'un faun*. Mumaw, who learnt the dance from Shawn, reported that although it looks 'deceptively easy, it is in fact technically very demanding, with its precise geometry and balance, and rhythmic controlled responses to the music'.[49] While there is not space to delve more deeply into the significance of the bodily movements here, it should be noted that they conform to Delsartean ideas that physical movement or posture of the body relates to and embodies emotions. Shawn both applied these ideas and later

wrote about them in *Every Little Movement*.[50] A striking feature of the *Gnossienne* choreography is the bent arms and knees, which Shawn describes as 'thermometers of the will', with the elbow moving outward away from the body to express pride and assertion of will, while the knee bends in submission.[51] In *Gnossienne*, the priest's poses appear to suggest pride and a resistance to the goddess, as well as submission to her. It is also clear that Shawn performed the piece with an element of sly humour,[52] rather than with the self-conscious seriousness of some of the other ritual dances in the Denishawn repertoire.

Thematically, *Gnossienne* fits smoothly into the Denishawn repertoire, which was replete with ritual dances and invocation of the divine, such as St. Denis' *The Incense*, or Shawn's *Invocation to the Thunderbird* (1917). In terms of performance, *Gnossienne* was placed in the 'Orientalia' section of the programme, a nice example of how the Minoans could be adopted here as exotic and sensual, and yet be considered by others, notably Evans, as European and not at all Oriental in other contexts.[53] To take a 1922–23 programme as an example, *Gnossienne* fell into section IV, Orientalia.[54] The set opened with St. Denis as Kuan Yin, followed by Shawn performing *Gnossienne*. Dances from Japan and Java came next, with an Egyptian ballet as the finale. Crete was then sandwiched between China and Japan as thoroughly 'Oriental'. *Gnossienne* was highly popular with audiences everywhere; writing of the tour to Japan, one of the dancers, Doris Humphries, says, 'You would be surprised to know what numbers are the favorites. Ted's Gnossiene, for instance, is always a riot – isn't that funny? – and his [Death of] Adonis too.'[55]

In terms of context then, Shawn's Minoan priest is in harmony with the wider treatment of Minoan imagery as exotic and sensual in the visual and performing arts of the time, as well as fitting in with the familiar and well-established ritual themes within the Denishawn repertoire. If we shift focus to look again at the narrative of the dance as set against

other ritual invocations, such as *The Incense*, and at Shawn's position as a male dancer within a predominantly female world, some further layers of significance can be suggested. In *The Incense*, St. Denis is self-consciously immersed in the spirituality of the ritual which she performs facing towards the audience (Figure 6.2). *Gnossienne*, as performed by Shawn, was seen as being 'slyly ironic' in keeping with Satie's music,[56] and Shawn's flat profile, 'bas relief' priest goes through the motions of ritual, yet seems at points to resist the unseen deity who is the focus of his attention.

Ted Shawn was, of course, a male dancer in a predominantly female dance world. On a professional level, St. Denis made it clear that she, the more established figure, was the dominant partner. While 'Denishawn' was a merging of their two names, her name always appears first on programme posters. The storminess of their personal relationship is well-documented; Terry, in his biography of Shawn, quotes a letter that St. Denis wrote to Shawn in 1918 while he was doing a short period of military service, and before the transformation of the training piece into the narrative of *Gnossienne*. She writes, 'Darling, when you reach that point when you realize that your destiny is to serve me and my career, subordinate to me at all times and in all ways, you will finally reach some happiness.'[57]

With this in mind, it is tempting also to read the Knossian priest's resistance to the Snake Goddess as a mirror of Shawn's own efforts to establish himself outside of the shadow of St. Denis, and indeed to establish a distinctive male presence in modern dance.

Notes

1 Shawn 1960, p. 70.

2 For example, at their 80th Anniversary Gala Evening, April 18, 2006, where Tadej Brdnik performed as the male priest.

3 Sherman 1979.

4 See, for example, the title of Terry's 1976 biography of Shawn.

5 Kendall 1979, p. 107; Foulkes 2002, p. 80.

6 Terry 1976, pp. 37–39.

7 Thomas 1995, p. 80.

8 Terry 1976, pp. 12–14, 106–107, 140; Foulkes 2002, pp. 85–86.

9 Jowitt 2012, p. 166 (citing the *San Diego Union* newspaper of July 18, 1913).

10 Burt 2007, p. 97.

11 Shawn 1937, 1946, 1954, 1960.

12 Terry 1976, pp. 42–44.

13 Thomas 1995, p. 73.

14 Kendall 1979, p. 78; Thomas 1995, p. 78.

15 Sherman 1994, pp. 183–184.

16 Sherman 1989.

17 Sherman 1989, p. 367, citing Shawn in *Denishawn Magazine*, vol. 1, 3 (1925), p. 5.

18 Burt 2007, p. 92.

19 Shawn 1926, pp. 19–20.

20 Mumaw & Sherman 1981, p. 87.

21 Burt 2007, p. 94.

22 Sherman & Mumaw 1986, pp. 251–252; Guest 1988, pp. 16–17 with description and diagram of movements.

23 Davis 2007, p. 61 for a short discussion of the competing views.

24 Sherman & Mumaw 1986, pp. 251–252.

25 Momigliano 2013, and Chapter 5 in this volume.

26 Shawn 1920, p. 79; Caloi 2010, p. 284; 2011; Chapter 4 in this volume.

27 Evans 1899–1900, pp. 15–16.

28 Programme from 1942, Ted Shawn and Corp. Barton Mumaw: http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/ref/collection/tc/id/36363 (accessed May 10, 2014).

29 Sherratt 2009, pp. 634–638.

30 Richter 1910, pp. 113–117; Cupbearer (purchased by the Dodge fund, 1909: mma 09.135.1); Priest King (purchased by the Rodgers fund, 1970: mma 07.99.9a-f); Hemingway 2011.

31 Cited in Farnoux 1996, p. 105.

32 Morris 2009.

33 Evans, letter to *The Manchester Guardian*, October 31, 1900.

34 Pendlebury 1939, p. 267.

35 Young 1989, p. 56; 1999, pp. 14–15.

36 See, for example, Terry 1976, unnumbered plate between pp. 89–91; also New York Public Library (NYPL) Digital Collections, at http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47df-86fd-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99 (accessed May 10, 2014).

37 A number of Shawn's costumes featured armbands, though not in the distinctive tubular form seen in the *Gnossienne* costume. Cf. *Invocation to the Thunderbird* (1921); *Osage Pawnee Dance of Greeting* (1930).

38 Mumaw & Sherman 1981, p. 252.

39 Momigliano 2013, p. 41 with figs. 3.6–10; Chapter 5 in this volume, Appendix nos. 12–15.

40 Burt 2007, pp. 76–78.

41 Guest & Jeschke 1991, pp. 6, 18.

42 Burt 2007, p. 97.

43 Jowitt 1988, pp. 144–145.

44 For a set of images, see the New York Public Library Public Collections at http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/search/index?utf8=%e2%9c%93&keywords=gnossienne (accessed May 10, 2014).

45 Young 1999.

46 Young 1999, p. 15.

47 Young 1999, pp. 10–11. I am grateful to Tricia Young for drawing my attention to this costume and the associated dance.

48 Terry 1976, p. 77.

49 Sherman & Mumaw 1986, p. 252.

50 Shawn 1954.

51 Preston 2011, pp. 84–85.

52 Sherman 1979, p. 34; Sherman & Mumaw 1986, p. 252.

53 Morris 2010.

54 Sherman 1994, p. 184.

55 Wentink 1977, p. 26.

56 Sherman & Mumaw 1986, p. 252.

57 Terry 1976, pp. 91–92.

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Chapter 7

The ocean liner *Aramis*: a voyage to the land of Minos and Art Deco[1]

Anaïs Boucher

On 21 October 1932, the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes grandly announced in the press the maiden voyage of their new ocean liner *Aramis*,[2] whose reception rooms were decorated in the 'Aegean' style (Figure 7.1). This was a prestigious project, the fifth of the Compagnie's *nautonaphtes* (petrol-run ships),[3] and this incredibly luxurious and pleasingly original ocean liner was one of the jewels of the French merchant fleet in the immediate aftermath of the Roaring Twenties. Unfortunately, due to the events of World War II, the ship had only a brief career.[4] On 4 September 1939, it was sent to the shipyard at Saigon to be transformed into an auxiliary cruiser under the name of X1; for some time, it patrolled the waters between Hong Kong and Singapore, and later in the Gulf of Siam and the China Sea. But on 10 April 1942, the *Aramis* was requisitioned by the Japanese in Saigon and renamed TEIA MARU. It was used for transportation as part of an exchange of diplomats between Japan and the United States, and subsequently served to transport troops. Torpedoed and sunk on 18 August 1944 by the American submarine USS RASHER, it now lies at 18°18' north and 120°13' east, at the northwest point of the island of Luzon in the Philippines.

This ship has not, however, disappeared from memory: documents from the archives of the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes (preserved by the French Lines Association in Le Havre) as well as sketches, photographs and letters from artists who worked on its decoration, courtesy of the Maison de la Grande Vigne in Dinan and the Musée Mathurin Méheut in Lamballe, allow us to raise this fantasy

Aegean world from the deep, giving us an insight into the creative process behind the ship's decorating scheme and demonstrating how Art Deco was inspired by Minoan Art.[5]

The origin of a unique decorative scheme

The ocean liner *Aramis* was built in the shipyards of the Société des Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée and launched on 30 June 1931 from Seyne-sur-Mer, before arriving in Marseille, where its interior furnishing and decoration were completed. The ship was an important venture for the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes,[6] as its previous *nautonaphte, Aramis*'s sister ship the *Georges Philippar*, named after the president of the company, had been destroyed by fire on 16 May 1932, upon returning from its maiden voyage on the line between China and Japan – a disaster which cost the lives of fifty-four passengers, including that of the famous reporter Albert Londres. The launch of the *Aramis* was therefore highly anticipated by the press, who wanted to see whether new security measures were in place, and also whether the shipping company had been able to uphold its prestige and reputation, as well as their expectations of luxury and comfort 'à la française'.

Established in 1871, the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes was the successor to the Messageries Nationales, founded in 1851, which had signed an agreement with the French state to run the shipping lines to the Near East (and later to the Far East), and to manage the postal service. From 1920, the company had a new agreement with the government that freed it from financial responsibility for the postal service and allowed it to increase its presence on the commercial shipping lines, which involved transporting both passengers and raw materials as diverse as silk, tea, rice, rubber and teak. The *Aramis*, like the Messageries Maritimes' other ships, was therefore destined to run the shipping line to China upon its departure from Marseille.[7] It was scheduled to call at Port-Said and Djibouti, passing through the Suez Canal, Colombo,

Penang, Singapore, Saigon and Hong Kong, before arriving in Shanghai forty-two days later.

The ship's technical equipment and features[8] were covered at length by the specialist press and in newspapers at the different ports, and entire columns were devoted to the *Aramis*'s 'Aegean' decorative scheme. This was less the result of journalistic curiosity than of an extensive publicity campaign orchestrated by the Messageries Maritimes, as demonstrated by the notes[9] addressed by the company to various press agencies and newspapers in France, the colonies and abroad,[10] and the numerous articles which reproduced these press releases almost word for word. The decor, for those readers who had not seen the boat and did not have the photographs in front of them, was covered in detailed explanations such as those printed in *Le Sémaphore de Marseille* on 3 October 1932: 'The New Ocean Liner *Aramis* – The General Principles of its Decor' (Le Nouveau Paquebot *Aramis* – Les Principes Généraux de sa décoration) (Figure 7.2). Often the coverage was not simply descriptive but also glowing with praise:[11] 'The *Aramis:* a wonderful recreation of an artistic world unknown to us thirty years ago' (Une belle reconstitution sur "l' *Aramis*" d'un art inconnu il y trente ans) was the headline of *Le Courrier de Saigon* on 16 November 1932. The originality of the furnishings was singled out for praise, but the headlines did not necessarily announce the arrival of an 'Aegean' ship. Indeed, as the journalists explained, this was an art 'with which few people are as yet familiar' (que, maintenant encore, bien peu de personnes connaissent bien), and the period in question was described somewhat clumsily as 'an age of Greek art preceding [sic] the Alexandrian and Mycenaean periods, of which the most significant remains can be found on the islands of the Aegean Sea, most notably on Crete' (une époque de l'art grec antérieur [sic] à l'époque Alexandrine et même à l'époque Mycénienne et dont les manifestations les plus importantes ont été

retrouvées dans les îles de la Mer Egée, plus spécialement en Crète).[12]

And so we have a mystery on our hands: why did a French shipping company in the early 1930s decide to decorate one of its most prestigious ocean liners in the 'Cretan' style when the vessel bore the name of one of the musketeers in Alexandre Dumas's famous French adventure novel and did not even travel to Greece? Moreover, why did the company also organise an extensive publicity campaign for Aegean art across the entire Far East?

Internal memos[13] prepared by the company, written with the press but also the ship's personnel in mind, shed light on the origin of this astonishing decorative scheme:

> The President of the Messageries Maritimes, M. Georges Philippar, under whose direction the great styles of Antiquity – Egyptian, Muslim, Khmer, Medieval, and French Renaissance – have been recreated on board modern ocean liners over the last fifteen years, wanted to introduce his passengers on this occasion to a form of art as yet almost completely unknown: Aegean art.
>
> (Le Président des Messageries Maritimes, M. Georges Philippar, sous la direction de qui ont été reconstitués, depuis quinze ans, à bord des paquebots modernes, les grands styles de l'Antiquité, égyptienne, musulmane, khmère, du Moyen-Âge et de la Renaissance Française, a voulu, cette fois, faire connaître à ses passagers une forme d'art presque complètement inconnue encore, l'art égéen.)[14]

So it seems to be the character and personal tastes of the President of the Messageries Maritimes, Georges Philippar, which explain this surprising choice. Philippar was the Director General of the company from 1918 and its President from 1925. As a number of articles show, he was deeply involved in decisions about the decor of his ships, giving direction and

then personally ensuring his visions were carried out.[15] He did not hesitate to visit in person the workshops of the artists and cabinetmakers working for the company. Unlike some of his foreign contemporaries, he refused to see ocean liners as having a purely utilitarian function, and wanted to combat the 'snobism of the poor', 'nudity' and simplicity.

Philippar had also shared his ideas on ship decor in a communication to the Académie de Marine (French Naval Academy) on 12 February 1926 entitled, 'A contribution to the history of ship decoration and furnishings' (Contribution à l'histoire de la décoration des navires et des installations pour passagers à bord).[16] Besides demonstrating his extensive historical knowledge, which covered Egyptian, Phoenician, Greek and Viking vessels, this communication pointed the way towards a truly modern decor for ocean liners. Like his colleague John Dal Piaz, director of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, who in 1925 had edited a study entitled, 'The conception of the modern ocean liner' (La conception du paquebot modern)[17] Philippar was tired of French ships decorated in the 'great styles of the past' [grands styles du passé], i.e. Louis XIV or Empire.[18] This frequent recourse to such past styles, around the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, did, however, have the merit of preventing ship decoration from going out of fashion. Georges Philippar wanted his ships to look truly modern, but he was confronted with a singular problem: art was aging increasingly rapidly. In his words, 'most artworks, buildings, collections and objects inspired by the style of the *Exposition Universelle*, that style then called "art nouveau", had become unbearable less than ten years later' (la plupart des ouvrages d'art, édifices, ensembles ou objets inspirés par le style de l'Exposition Universelle, ce style qu'on appelait alors " art nouveau", [avaient] cessé d'être supportables moins de dix ans plus tard). The president of the Messageries Maritimes, well aware of this problem, explained that his company had tried to find an original solution, since

> even outside modern art, in the generally accepted understanding of these words, there were perhaps other ways of making things new, for example, taking inspiration for a particular line, from the particular style of the regions served, and from a historical period perhaps further back in the past.
>
> (en dehors même de l'art moderne, dans l'acception généralement donnée à ces mots, il y [avait] peut-être aussi d'autres solutions pour faire du nouveau, celle par exemple, qui [consistait] à s'inspirer, pour telle ligne déterminée, du style particulier aux régions desservies, à une époque qui n'[étai]t pas nécessairement récente.)[19]

Several of the Messageries Maritimes ships followed this principle.[20] The *Champollion* (1925) and the *Mariette Pacha* (1926),[21] serving the Egypt line, were inspired by Egyptian art and architecture; the *Théophile Gautier* (1927),[22] serving the north Mediterranean, was decorated in an Arab style; and the *Félix Roussel* (1931),[23] serving the China line, was decorated in Khmer bas-reliefs under the direction of a sinologist, shortly before the unveiling of the Angkor Temple at the Colonial Exhibition in Paris. Georges Philippar was aware of the role of ocean liners as a laboratory for decorative artists, and he reworked John Dal Piaz's words in his own manner: 'Artists find a way to make the best of their talent in particular lines and in the new forms of facilities' ([Les artistes] trouvent dans des lignes particulières et dans des locaux de formes nouvelles, le moyen d'exercer leur talent dans les conditions les meilleures). But for Philippar, it was in evoking and reproducing ancient forms 'with the means and processes of our age' (avec les moyens et les procédés de notre époque), in uniting them 'with the purest lines of French modern art and the most refined formulas of European comfort and luxury' (aux plus pures lignes de l'art français moderne, aux formules les plus raffinées du confort et du luxe européen), that an attempt at newness could really take place, and modern art

which could not age might truly be produced. These statements were perfectly in tune with the Art Deco tastes of the period, during which many artists were then interested in the form and colour of ancient motifs, notably Egyptian and Greek.[24] Palms and palmettes, spirals and meanders, could be found in textiles, wallpaper, cabinetry and lighting,[25] and unornamented columns were often used in the facades of modern buildings.

The decor of the ocean liner *Aramis* can therefore be set in the context of a wider programme of recreating 'antiquity' initiated by the President of the Messageries Maritimes, in which Aegean art was simply a new, exotic way to create novelty without wearying passengers, and also happened to fit in with the Art Deco taste of the period. Yet, unlike the examples noted above, the *Aramis* did not travel anywhere near the region from which it was supposed to derive inspiration: its namesake, the brave musketeer Aramis, originated from the Basque country, and had more connections with the Sun King than with Minos. Why, then, choose Aegean art?

Georges Philippar's biography demonstrates that, although he had almost never set foot on Greek soil, he was a Hellenophile with a remarkable knowledge of classical antiquity.[26] He was also an open-minded and curious spirit, interested by different cultures without making judgments about their relative worth.[27] Through his background and reading (both in the newspapers and more specialised works), he would, therefore, have been well aware of the discoveries made at Mycenae and on Crete from the end of the 19th century, and he seems to have taken a particular personal interest in Aegean art. The works on Aegean art consulted in the internal memo 'L'Aramis'[28] had, therefore, undoubtedly been part of his reading. They were listed indiscriminately as follows: *La Civilisation égéenne* by Gustave Glotz, published in 1923; *Les animaux dans la peinture de la Crète pré-hellénique* by Marthe Oulié, published in 1926; *Le demi-dieu ou le Voyage*

de Grèce by Jacques Lacretelle, published in 1930; *L'art égéen* by Jean Charbonneaux, published in 1929; and the *Etudes crétoises* by the École Française d'Athènes, of which the first issue, published in 1928, was dedicated to the first report of the dig at Malia. Between 1927 and 1931, Christian Zervos's magazine *Les Cahiers d'Art* also published numerous articles dedicated to Aegean art, which again drew the attention of both artists and the general public to the discoveries found around the Aegean Sea.

In addition to this, the director must have been aware that between 1898 and 1912, the Revue Générale des Sciences had regularly charted the Compagnie's ships to organise Greek cruises, commandeering the *Sénégal* and the *Orénoque*, for example, which transported tourists close to recently discovered archaelogical sites such as Mycenae and Knossos.[29] These were highly educational cruises, with lecturers on board who organised talks with slides, etc.

Finally, as described by Nicoletta Momigliano in this volume,[30] Belle Époque Paris had experienced a 'Cretomania' across numerous artistic fields, and this could not have passed Georges Philippar by during his quest to discover new themes and original decors for his ships. He might have seen Léon Bakst's interior decors at the theatre and the opera, or Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo's Minoan-inspired textiles in a boutique on the Champs Elysées.[31] This wider artistic context would have served to convince him that the modernity of the themes and colours inspired by Aegean art were perfectly compatible with Art Deco.

Unfortunately, in the 1930s, the Messageries Maritimes no longer served the Mediterranean, as the shipping company had specialised in the great lines serving China and Japan, and it was therefore difficult for the director to fulfil his wish of introducing his passengers to Aegean art with cruises off the coast of Crete. He may still, however, have felt that the choice of Aegean art was rather apt given that several publications at the time were drawing parallels between Aegean and Japanese

art.[32] One of the preparatory notes designed to be circulated to the crew and the press, which were most likely written under Philippar's strict supervision, clearly alludes to this association: 'It is clear that these Japanese of the Mediterranean, as those Cretan artists from 3000 AD, whose names have been lost to us, have been nicknamed, were prodigious compositors as well as anatomists of a consummate science' (Disons que ces Japonais de la Méditerranée, ainsi qu'on a surnommé les artistes crétois d'il y a 3000 ans avant J.-C., dont les noms d'ailleurs ne sont pas parvenus jusqu'à nous, furent de prodigieux compositeurs, aussi bien que des anatomistes, d'une science consommée).[33] These knowing assertions gave a kind of carte-blanche for an ocean liner that served the China Sea and occasionally passed by Japan to adorn itself in Minoan garb. The passengers could thus, themselves, or with the help of the notes provided, draw parallels between the art of Crete, China and Japan.

Yet the 'Aegean' décor of the ocean liner *Aramis* was not simply aesthetic: it sprang from the company director's genuine wish to introduce passengers to an unknown art in a learned way. As we have seen, the notes produced under Georges Philippar's supervision were designed to be widely circulated, and were reproduced in numerous newspapers worldwide, allowing future passengers to understand the principles behind the design. But the information was also designed for the crew, who had to be able to answer any of the passengers' questions, and above all for the ship's captain, who was expected to become a convert to Aegean art before taking command of the vessel. In recreating an Aegean decor on the ocean liner *Aramis*, Philippar had huge ambitions. He wanted to 'translate masterpieces originally so small that they could only be appreciated through a magnifying glass into big dimensions, to allow them to be understood and admired in all of their beauty' ([traduire] en de grandes dimensions des chefs-d'œuvre réalisés sur des originaux si petits qu'ils [n'étaient] appréciables qu'à la loupe, [pour permettre] de les comprendre

et de les admirer dans toute leur beauté).[34] He was convinced that

> this first recreation of Aegean art onboard a French ocean liner constitutes not only one of the finest efforts of modern art, but also the best teaching material for students from the great schools, deprived of sufficient literature on this form of art, and for artists a source of inspiration from which they can draw new and fresh ideas which may engender new masterpieces.
>
> (cette première renaissance d'art égéen à bord d'un paquebot français [constituait] non seulement un des plus beaux efforts de l'art moderne, mais encore le meilleur des enseignements pour les élèves [des] grandes écoles, privés d'une documentation suffisante sur cette forme d'art, et aussi pour [les] artistes, une source d'inspiration à laquelle ils [pourraient] puiser des idées fraîches et neuves, susceptibles de faire naître de nouveaux chefs-d'œuvre.)[35]

The Messageries Maritimes did indeed want the ocean liner *Aramis* to be known by as many people as possible, not only by journalists – which explains not only the publicity campaign but also the officer-guided tours of the ship, which were available at each port of call on the ship's maiden voyage. For example, on 16 November 1932, the Saigon newspaper *L'Opinion* informed its readers that they could visit the *Aramis* during its stopover 'on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, from 8–10 am, 4–6 pm and 8–11 pm.' The *Aramis* was a new kind of exhibition, designed to give its visitors an appreciation of Aegean art, in line with the reconstructions of other civilisations presented at the Expositions Universelles. On board, everything was ready to aid both day visitors and passengers in their discoveries. The press coverage might have already encouraged them to connect the decor with the objects found at Knossos or Ayia Triada on Crete, but passengers could also view the small exhibition put together by the company

about the Cretan-inspired rooms.[36] This educational tour comprised twelve photographs of Aegean objects which had inspired the ship's decor, including photographs of the original pieces housed in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum, like the 'Harvesters' Vase', as well as reproductions by Emilie Gilliéron housed in the Louvre Museum, such as the Vaphio gold cups.[37] But these pieces were also given a context by photographs of Greece and the Aegean islands: 'as was the custom … in most European museums relative to recently uncovered works' (ainsi qu'il [était] de coutume de le faire … dans la plupart des musées européens autour d'œuvres récemment exhumes).[38] The company made clear their wish to 'reproduce Minoan art' (restituer l'art minoen) and 'allow for a better understanding of the interpretative and transpositional work which has been carried out' (faire mieux comprendre le travail d'interprétation et de transposition qui [avait] été realisé).[39] The 'Neo-Aegean' art on board the *Aramis* was not, therefore, for simple aesthetic amusement, but also claimed a certain archaeological fidelity and an educational mission to preserve the remains of a lost art. The ocean liner thus became a new kind of museum, offering an understanding and closer familiarity with Cretan artists through the immersive sensory experience it provided.

Georges Philippar's ambitions for the Aegean decor were also diplomatic: he believed that the decor of a ship was

> an indication of the calibre of native [French] artists from the originating country, just as the luxury and comfort of the furnishings were an indication of the progress achieved by that country. In such a way the ocean liner has become an ambassador for French thought in all its forms.
>
> (une indication de la valeur des artistes du pays d'origine, autant que le luxe et le confort des emménagements [étaient] une indication du progrès atteint par ce même pays. C'est dans ce sens que le

> paquebot [était] devenu … un ambassadeur de la pensée française sous toutes ses forms.)[40]

The ocean liner was, in effect, the first contact with French culture for some of the statesmen, businessmen and scholars on their way to France or visiting the ship on one of its calling points. The ocean liner *Aramis* was therefore itself intended to provoke comment and reflection, to stimulate admiring or critical comparisons, to make a strong impression, and even to exert an influence over the art and architecture of the countries at which it called on its voyage. The combination of Aegean inspiration, the skill of French luxury craftsmen, and the imagination of well-known artists and decorators would carry out this diplomatic mission in the service of French greatness.

Had French artists been naturally absorbing the influence of Aegean art since the beginning of the 20th century? Was the art of the 'Mediterranean's first civilisation', as it was then called, the prime source of French creativity? Far from it. But French craftsmen were certainly able to marry Minoan art and Art Deco on board the *Aramis*, as a detailed look at the creation of the ship's decor reveals.

Where Art Deco and Aegean art meet

The ship's interior furnishings

As a showcase for French luxury, the ship's interior furnishings had to meet certain criteria for comfort, but also be flamboyantly modern in the materials, methods, and patterns used. Such was the challenge awaiting Georges Raymond, the designer charged by Georges Philippar with bringing his Aegean dream to life. Well before the ship's maiden voyage, and even before the completion of its furnishings, *Le Bulletin Commercial d'Extrême-Orient* of May 1932 was whetting its readers' appetites with the announcement that

> the Messageries Maritimes, breaking with the tradition of ocean liners being furnished only in an old-fashioned style, have conceived of and tried to bring to life, for this first of their new constructions,

> a truly modern ship's interior constructed entirely through contemporary artistic methods.
>
> (les Messageries Maritimes, rompant avec une tradition qui subordonnait l'aménagement des paquebots à des décorations d'ancien style, [avaient] conçu et essayé de réaliser, pour cette première de leurs nouvelles constructions, un intérieur de navire vraiment moderne uniquement dû aux moyens artistiques contemporains.)

We cannot forget that, in 1932, France was the country of Art Deco, a 'Made in France' style which had been quickly exported around the world. Surfacing around 1910, this style took a clear form at the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in 1925, and it was at this exhibition that John Dal Piaz, the Director of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, had discovered several of the designers and decorative artists who would later work on his ships, including Jacques–Emile Ruhlmann and René Lalique.[41]

Art Deco was characterized by its geometric lines, simplified forms, the use of elementary shapes, and a return to stylised decorative patterns (circle segments, spirals, scales and triangles) often inspired by nature. These were applied to large-scale architectural projects and objects of a more modest size, from artisanal objects fashioned according to the traditions of French luxury, to those mass-produced by a revived post-war industry. The materials used could therefore range from rare and precious materials such as ivory, ebony and shagreen, to modern materials like concrete and steel.[42] Art Deco artists did not generally work alone but in a team, with other artists and artisans, each with their own specialty, or with a designer in the case of the large-scale creations characteristic of the period of post-war reconstruction.

Ocean liners represented an opportunity to create a complete work of art at an architectural as well as a decorative level, and thus became the true 'floating palaces' of Art Deco: laboratories in which teams of artists and artisans could

experiment.[43] As Georges Philippar had foreseen, they also allowed for the propagation of this new style around the world, not only to colonies such as Indochina, but also to foreign cities, including Shanghai.

The 'Neo-Aegean' decor of the ocean liner *Aramis* was undoubtedly part of this movement, not least because the creators of this period, as we have previously discussed, 'found their key inspiration in the artists of past centuries, whose forms they preserved through purification, from Antiquity to popular European art, via the art of Sub-Saharan Africa' ([trouvaient] l'essentiel de leur inspiration chez les artistes des siècles passés, dont ils [prolongaient] les formes en les épurant, de l'Antiquité aux arts populaires européens, en passant par ceux de l'Afrique noire).[44]

So why not fuse Art Deco with Aegean art? I shall not revisit the supposed modernity of Aegean art at the moment of its discovery, nor its resonance with Art Nouveau or the modernist restorations, which might have been proposed. The following analysis concentrates on the motifs, scenes and colours on which the *Aramis's* designers, artisans and artists, steeped in Art Deco but tasked with clearly evoking Aegean art, decided to focus in order to satisfy the ship's passengers, who were as eager for novelty as for the expected modernity of a luxury ocean liner.

Georges Raymond, a designer from Marseille, built a team of artists and artisans with this goal in mind. Mathurin Méheut, who was a favourite of the company's director, and Yvonne Jean-Haffen, his pupil and collaborator, had been chosen for the paintings (Figure 7.3). For the rest of the ship's decor, various interior designer-cabinetmakers were hired, such as Schmidt & Co. or the Marc Simon workshop, both based in Paris on the rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine. All these artists and artisans were based in Paris, had already previously worked together on other ocean liners,[45] and knew each other well. We know, for example, that Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen frequently visited Marc Simon's workshop.[46] Designer Georges

Raymond was charged with coordinating the work of this entire little world, and he had responsibility for drawing up the plans for each of the Aegean rooms and writing up the specifications for each craftsman.

To my knowledge, there is no file dedicated to the activities of Georges Raymond in the archives of the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, which are based in the French Lines Association at Le Havre. However, in 1937, Georges Raymond published an article in the *Journal de la Marine Marchande*, in a special issue entitled 'New naval techniques' (Les nouveautés techniques maritimes), in which he revisited the design of decorating the *Aramis*:

> The general design of the *Aramis* was being actively considered at the same moment [1920s] as the renewed excavations at Knossos, and when the conservation and restoration work of Sir Arthur Evans was attracting attention. Aegean art was becoming fashionable again, and it seemed clear that its clean simple shapes belonged to the 'modern' style such as we currently understand it … The columns of wood and stone, which stood on the bases that survive, have not, of course, ever been rediscovered; we knew their shape and colour only through the drawings and paintings on ceramic … In contrast, the sculpture, painting and above all the ceramics were full of decorative motifs of an astonishing purity and freshness of composition … All the large public spaces on board the *Aramis* were therefore established upon the prescription of a great sobriety of line and the integration of details clearly inspired by recent Cretan discoveries.
>
> (La conception générale de l'*Aramis* était à l'étude au moment même [1920s] où les fouilles entreprises à Cnossos connaissaient un regain d'activité, et où les travaux de conservation et de restauration dus à la ténacité de Sir Arthur Evans attiraient l'attention. L'art égéen redevenait d'actualité, et il apparaissait

> manifestement que ses formes épurées et d'une grande simplicité s'apparentaient au style dit "moderne", tel qu'on le comprend de nos jours … Les colonnes de bois ou de pierre, qui reposaient sur des socles encore en place, n'ont, il faut l'avouer, jamais été retrouvées; on connaît leur forme et leur couleur, uniquement par des dessins ou des peintures sur céramique … Par contre, la sculpture, la peinture, et surtout la céramique, abondent en motifs de décoration d'une pureté et d'une fraîcheur de composition étonnantes … Tous les grands locaux de réunion, à bord de l'*Aramis*, furent donc établis dans une ordonnance d'une grande sobriété de lignes et dans lesquelles se trouve enchâssée une composition de détails nettement inspirée des récentes découvertes crétoises.)[47]

The designer thus seems to have had a reasonably detailed knowledge of the excavations at Knossos and plans in the works published by Arthur Evans. Georges Raymond had also accompanied Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen on their study trip to Greece at the beginning of 1932.[48] Already familiar with Minoan civilization through his reading, Raymond was therefore able to complete his designs, come up with new ideas for the decoration of the walls, columns and pilasters, and pick out a number of objects which had the freshness and simplicity that could easily merge with a 'modern' style, and from which the craftsmen later took inspiration. It is difficult to know the degree of precision of the plans and specifications provided by the designer to the artisans, and the margin for manoeuvre which he allowed. But the craftsmen of Schmidt & Co. and the Marc Simon workshop were also artists who did not need to be supervised in order to bring their projects to life. Even if the specifications with which they were provided were highly detailed, it seems likely that they were able to add their own personal stamp.

The designer met with the members of the team entrusted with the decor as frequently as possible,[49] visiting them

directly in their Parisian workshops, dining with them or having them visit him in Marseille. He would have certainly asked the artisans to draw inspiration from Aegean objects after photos of the originals or from the reproductions on show at the Louvre Museum and the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye,[50] the only two places in France where exhibitions on Aegean civilisations could be seen by the general public.

It was not, of course, possible to decorate all of the ship's interior spaces in a 'Cretan' style: the service areas (kitchens, laundries, staff quarters, captain's room, etc.) completely escaped the decorative scheme, as did the passenger cabins in all classes, and the promenade deck. Ten rooms in the prestigious first- and second-class communal spaces did, however, have an Aegean flavour (although they had to share this space with one of the whims of the company's director: a Basque decor scheme in the first-class smoking room as a reminder that the courageous *Aramis*, the ship's namesake, originally hailed from this region).

Unlike other ocean liners built by the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique in the same period, such as the *Normandie*, whose engineers had managed to create monumental spaces allowing the decorators to indulge in vertical fantasies, the architecture of the *Aramis* was confined to the rooms, which were often large, but with generally rather low ceilings. Designer Georges Raymond had to contend with this constraint, providing most of the reception rooms with artificial light-wells, domes or raised ceilings. Fortunately, these rooms often had large windows looking out onto the sea.

Thanks to the precise descriptions provided in the memos prepared by the Messageries Maritimes, and the black-and-white photograph albums dedicated to the ship's decor, it is possible to recreate the design of these neo-Aegean spaces and to understand the way in which they were furnished.[51] It is time, therefore, to begin our tour of the ship.

The first-class rooms

THE DINING ROOM

The largest room on the ship was undoubtedly the first-class dining room, which was entirely created by the Marc Simon workshop. Georges Raymond's design was directly inspired by the Grand Staircase at the Palace of Knossos, and passengers entered this vast room by a staircase descending between stepped slabs forming terraces. At the base of the stairs were two reproductions of pithoi (in dark red with white drawings) recalling those in the famous Knossos 'Magazines', an image occurring widely during this period in the form of postcards. Finally, at the bottom of the staircase, six Minoan tapering columns in dark varnished wood, shining with polish, supported a skylight that lit most of the room (Figure 7.4).

The walls were covered in panelling, including small wooden Minoan columns placed between the windows and a depiction of the double-axe in relief, in white on a darker wood marquetry, standing out from the light wooden background. This double-axe is modelled on those found at Knossos, but it appears to be more finely ornamented.[52] Beneath, a frieze of discs in alternating colours directly recalls the decor of the 'Queen's Megaron' at Knossos.

These design elements were, therefore, more a reference to Minoan art than a re-creation, since one of the design briefs was to re-create a Minoan building (Figure 7.5). However, these forms perfectly matched the aesthetic of Art Deco, which frequently used unornamented columns and favoured the use of geometric motifs. The use of inlays and the construction of the columns from polished rare wood were also telling: passengers would certainly have known that they were on an Art Deco boat.[53]

The rest of the interior decor further demonstrates an Aegean-inspired art transforming its source material. The floor, for example, was made from a modern material, rubber. It was a yellow-and-red chessboard pattern, crossed by geometric motifs such as meandering lines, recalling the stylised tentacles of Mycenaean octopuses. As the company's memos make clear,

the chessboard pattern also referenced the 'Knossos Chessboard', a famous object that was often reproduced in works for the general public. But here the bright colours, as modern as they were 'Minoan', and the material used, diverged from the original, creating a modern and practical floor instead of reproducing the original. This was also the case for the staircase carpet, which took up the light spiral pattern on a dark background, and a 'pistil' motif, which cannot be linked to a particular Aegean work.[54]

The furnishings were also particularly noteworthy as entirely original creations from the Marc Simon workshop. The sideboards between the tables were like huge wooden chests (apparently gilded), topped in black marble, with green jade handles – typical of Art Deco, and with only the pattern in relief recalling the Aegean world.[55] The large, comfortable armchairs were covered in brown leather; their arms were connected to the seat by scarlet leather tiebacks, and their back was the same as in the 'Throne of Minos' in the 'King's Megaron' at Knossos. But this was an improved, very French, version of the throne, akin to the large, soft armchairs of Art Deco – not simply a replica in a different material, like the white marble versions given by Greece to the International Tribunal at The Hague. This distinction did not escape contemporary commentators, such as the *Journal de Hong Kong* journalist, writing on 23 November 1932 that 'here the style is modern, but in its modernity can be discerned a return back to the French style of elegance and comfort whilst dining by its very easy armchairs and seating accommodations'.[56] For the French would not, of course, treat the restaurant of an ocean liner lightly!

Finally, one may note the black and grey lamps on the walls inspired by the 'Boxer Rhyton' from Ayia Triada, though, unfortunately, our archival sources do not discuss them, and they are difficult to see clearly on the photographs.

Twenty-seven Minoan-inspired frescos, created by Mathurin Méheut, also adorned the walls of the room and the lower

section of the light-well, but I shall return to these in more detail when I discuss the paintings.

THE SALON HALLWAY

As we retrace our steps up the staircase of the first-class dining room, we reach the upper deck and a small hallway also designed by the Marc Simon workshop (Figure 7.6). This bright space opened onto the outside promenade through windows and glass doors. The pilasters embedded in the walls and the two pillars on either side of the staircase were decorated in marquetry, with a pattern of interconnecting spirals very similar to that seen on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus. Two Minoan columns in light-coloured wood also flanked a staircase leading to another level above. In this room, the only explicit reference to Aegean art is the panel which decorated the top of the staircase: a reproduction of the 'Prince of Lilies' fresco by Yvonne Jean-Haffen, to which I will return later.

The furniture was, in fact, very modern: brown leather armchairs with a wide comfortable base and curvilinear chair backs. But those who looked carefully would notice that the armchair feet were in the shape of Minoan columns, a shape fitting so well into Art Deco design that it went unnoticed. The same could be said for the dark-coloured, wooden, low square tables, supported by a single leg decorated with spirals in relief, which echo the motif on the pilasters; and the chest made from wooden marquetry, of which only the green jade handles, surrounded by a star motif, seem to allude to Aegean art.

A few precious details do, however, recall the ship's Aegeo-Minoan theme. The lights had the same shape as those in the dining room, and the company's memos indicate that they were inspired by the 'Boxer Rhyton' from Ayia Triada. They were made from pale-yellow, moulded, frosted glass, and were supported by bronze rings. The artisans working on these pieces had perhaps taken a mould from a plaster reproduction sold by Emile Gilliéron & Son or worked with the moulding workshop of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, which had itself carried this out, and seems to have also commercialised

the plaster vase.[57] One further isolated decorative element adding an Aegean touch is represented by the gilded bronze handles of the glass doors, which combined the double-axe and bull-horn motifs.

A step further removed from its original sources, this evocation of Aegean art seems lighter and more modern, and perhaps more playful than that in the dining room, where the design was more subordinate to its sources and rather heavy-handed, almost a trifle kitsch.[58]

THE MUSIC ROOM

Schmidt & Co.'s creations for the music room (Figures 7.7–7.8) were full of Aegean inspiration, but they transcended mere imitation and made this space even more astonishing. The room was entered from the hall by three glass double-doors mounted with green bronze, and decorated in light relief with a pattern of discs and double-axes.

The two Jacques Simon's reproductions of Knossos frescoes (the 'Blue Bird' and the 'Blue Monkey'), which can be seen in the background, were explicit references to well-known Aegean artefacts, as were the pink sandstone flares and the octopuses[59] in the corners of the ceiling, which came straight from Knossos.

The architecture was still inspired by the Minoan columns, but here they were revisited, with small white half-columns adorning a second circular ceiling in the light-well. They were separated by dark-green, bronze, rectangular panels decorated with geometric patterns, mounted on a frieze of white and dark-green squares. The circular form of the second ceiling was highlighted by a dark-green, wavy line against a white background. These motifs, and the contrast between the dark-green bronze and the white, were in line with Art Deco copperware creations.[60] The main columns, which supported the raised ceiling, were in marquetry: a dark wood which made the white chevrons stand out. This zig-zag motif brought a real dynamism to the room and, in the words of a contemporary,

'[gave] the Music room its jazz appearance.'[61] And yet, this decoration was neither typically Minoan nor modern, but modelled, instead, on the Treasury of Atreus columns at Mycenae.[62]

The furnishings – with a large blue-and-beige woven rug, scattered with geometric motifs – also fostered a sense of vivacity and movement. The rug was inspired by the 'Knossos Chessboard', but its design was so like that of an Art Deco rug that it would not have looked out of place in a smart salon of the period. Finally, the chairs and armchairs in this room had a shape subtly reflecting the form of the 'horns of consecration' and were covered in antique rose, grey and gold silk damask, upon which bloomed a plant motif. Directly taken from Aegean ceramics, this pattern, here reinterpreted in soft furnishings, is the same that Mariano Fortuny had used many years before for his Knossos scarves.[63] There is no record in the Messageries archives of the silk manufacturers who produced this fabric, but as luck would have it, in 2001 the Lyon silk manufacturers Prelle reissued a design named 'Arcadia', which reused this same pattern but in different colours.[64] Upon further enquiry, this proved to be the reissue of a model created by the Truchot silk manufacturers in 1932, of which the templates and designs were preserved in the Prelle archives. The fabric covering the seats in the first-class Music Room thus seems to have been manufactured by Truchot. The Messageries must have placed a special order with Truchot, and this is further proof of the incredible luxury on board the ocean liner *Aramis*.

In this room, the affectation of Art Deco seems to have been delicately married with the stylized motifs of Aegean art: the chromatic scale chosen was less violent and the inspiration more elegant.

But let us continue our tour of the ship. The hall led into three further rooms: a games room for adults, a children's playroom, and a writing room. Of these, the latter two are particularly interesting.

THE CHILDREN'S PLAYROOM

Created by the Leglas Maurice & Jamin Co. workshop, the children's playroom incorporated discreet allusions to Aegean art, such as the floor rug decorated with sea urchins and fish (which, however, did not look very Minoan); the friezes of circles drawn on the walls, which recalled the patterns on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus; and the balustrade decorated with double-axes. The rest of the decor was inspired by the Trojan War, including three M. Roure panels allowing children to relive the story, and a replica of the Trojan Horse, inside which three children could hide (Figure 7.9).

THE WRITING ROOM

The writing room was designed by Schmidt & Co. in an entirely modern, very simple style. The design of the furniture was purely geometric, and only the double-axe door handles allude to the Aegeo-Minoan decorative theme.

THE SWIMMING POOL

We now descend into the belly of the ship to discover the swimming pool, with blue and green reflections, designed by the Marc Simon workshop (Figure 7.10). Although situated in the depths of the ship, it was lit by a tall, white ceiling supported by teak Minoan columns. The walls, adapted to their function, were here covered in grey and green marble. On one of the panels, you can see a fountain: a lioness's head in white marble which allowed water to flow into a mosaic pool, and from there fill the swimming pool. This was no unknown lioness, but a reproduction of the marble rhyton found at Knossos, a copy of which had been presented to the Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye as the Messageries Maritimes recalled in their explanatory note. This was a skilful misappropriation: the motif of the lioness's head was very common in fountains from the Greco-Roman period to the 19th century, but the chosen animal here is particularly stylised and recalls François Pompon, famous for exhibiting his *Polar Bear* at the 1922 Salon d'Automne. This Minoan outline thus seemed destined to find an echo amongst the Art Deco sculptors.

Yvonne Jean-Haffen also created a long frieze, *Underwater Landscapes*, in a range of brown shades, in which she included a whole host of Aegean references whilst detaching herself from the colourful world of Minoan frescoes in favour of the nuances of Aegean ceramics.

These discreet allusions and the use of precious materials make this swimming pool an extremely accomplished Neo-Aegean creation.

The second-class rooms

As in the first-class rooms, the second-class public spaces were decorated with allusions to Minoan art, but in this lower class the echos were fewer and more discreet. Yet, because of this, the encounter between Art Deco and Aegean art here seems more harmonious. The dining room, salon and smoking room were designed by Schmidt & Co.

THE DINING ROOM

The second-class dining room was much plainer than its first-class counterpart (Figure 7.11). Its entrance was equally grand, but without the large Minoan columns and pithoi.[65] Small columns on the sideboards still recalled this motif. The armchairs had the same shape as those in first class but more stylised, with the wavy contours of the 'Throne of Minos' now smoothed out.

The only Minoan touch in this wooden decor was therefore the doubleaxe frieze running around the walls. These deeply-engraved double-axes were painted white, blue, silver and red.[66]

THE MUSIC ROOM

Compared to the extreme simplicity of the dining room, the second-class music room (Figure 7.12) seems to have received more attention, and the Aegean influence is stronger yet tasteful.

As in the other public spaces, designer Georges Raymond had raised the ceiling to create an artificial light-well with

lamps. This ceiling was supported by light wooden Minoan columns, which matched the even lighter woodwork of the walls. The Minoan column can also be seen in the feet of the round tables, the chairs … and even the piano!

Beyond this repeated architectural motif, small allusions can be found throughout the room: octopuses engraved on the woodwork of the walls, the green bronze wave which ran round the upper part of the piano, the dark-green bronze clocks which picked up the motif of the 'horns of consecration', and, finally, the furnishing fabric whose motif was inspired by … the dress of the snake goddess (Figure 7.13)! It transpires that this fabric, too, was produced for the first time in 1932 by the Truchot silk manufacturers, from a colourful and eminently modern template.

THE SMOKING ROOM

in the smoking room, we find only a few waves on the wooden walls, the clocks seen previously, and pseudo-Cretan furniture which resembled the trunk seen in the first-class hall.

The paintings

As mentioned above, the second-class paintings were almost entirely absent, unlike in the first-class public spaces, where numerous paintings had been commissioned. Let us return to this aspect of the ocean liner *Aramis* in more detail.

The main pictoral designs were created by Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen. Mathurin Méheut[67] was acquainted with Georges Philippar, and it was through him that commissions were ordered from Yvonne Jean-Haffen.[68] Although these were paintings, it seems that the guidelines were less strict than for the artisans. Mathurin Méheut's designs were, however, still scrutinised by Georges Philippar and Georges Raymond during their development;[69] and as for Yvonne Jean-Haffen, papers relating to her work show that the company's directions were relatively precise.[70]

As noted above, in order to inspire the artists with an art with which they were entirely unfamiliar, the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes funded Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen's trip to Greece – Athens and Crete – at the very beginning of 1932. Setting sail on the *Angkor*,[71] they first called at Piraeus and visited the Acropolis and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, before travelling to Crete to study the objects in the Herakleion Museum and the remains of the palace of Knossos. This trip was designed to allow them to gather sketches and to be imbued with the 'Cretan' spirit. Their completed works were then to be delivered to Marseille by the end of May, as the ocean liner needed to be finished by the beginning of June 1932.

Thanks to the surviving correspondence between Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen (Figure 7.14, we have a rare insight into the working methods of these two artists. A number of sketches have also survived from their preparatory visit to Greece which demonstrate that the artists did not simply copy and gather materials from the masterpieces of Minoan art: they were also interested in the Cretan villages which they passed through, and the peaceful spirit which emanated from them.

Naturally, the motifs that intrigued Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen, and later inspired them, also appear in these sketches. Unfortunately, not all of the preparatory works have survived, having been partly given to the Messageries Maritimes for the decoration of the ocean liner. In fact, with the educational mission ever in mind, 'Mathurin Méheut's eleven watercolours were gathered in the games room[72] and the writing room, forming a highly interesting collection of original documents, which notably allowed for an even more complete appreciation of the artist's admirable modern interpretations' ([les] onze aquarelles [de Mathurin Méheut] ont été regroupées dans le salon des jeux et dans le hall de correspondance, constituant une collection de documents originaux d'un très grand intérêt et qui permet notamment d'apprécier plus complètement encore les admirables

interprétations modernes qu'en a tirées l'artiste.)[73] Passengers were thus invited to immerse themselves in the process of creation and recomposition.

Our task was made easier for us by the works of Yvonne Jean-Haffen, who retained the prototypes of works created for the *Aramis* as well as her sketches. This has allowed us to put the original colours back into works which photographs had only preserved in black and white.

Yvonne Jean-Haffen's The Prince of Lilies and Underwater Landscapes

The simplest order addressed to Yvonne Jean-Haffen was to produce a copy of the 'Prince of Lilies' (Figure 7.15). Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen had been able to admire both Emile Gilliéron's reproduction exhibited *in situ* at Knossos, and the restoration preserved in the Herakleion Museum, where Yvonne Jean-Haffen made her sketch.[74] Very close to the original as restored by Emile Gilliéron (she only lightly varied the placement and colour of the lilies), her *Prince of Lilies* is also in bas-relief. In order to give passengers the impression that the fresco had come straight from Crete, she reproduced it nearly full-scale, on a mortar base of fine sand, fixed on chipboard.[75] Preserved at Dinan, this work must be the fruit of her attempts to find the most suitable material.[76]

The decoration of the swimming pool on board the *Aramis* was the other order placed with Yvonne Jean-Haffen. Twenty-seven metres long, her frieze *Underwater Landscapes* was clearly inspired by the marine decoration of Minoan vases and by a selection of animals taken from the frescoes at Knossos and Phylakopi, as well as Minoan, Mycenaean, and even Hellenistic ceramics (Figures 7.16, 7.17, 7.18).[77] The octopuses, for example, are depicted in different ways, both Minoan and Mycenaean. She was able to elegantly combine elements with different inspiration. And thanks to Mathurin Méheut's sketch (Figure 7.19), we can see her at work, surrounded by the preparatory sketches she made in Greece and putting the final

touch to one of these cephalopods. The brown shade employed[78] does not seem to have been an obvious choice: several test shades have been preserved at the Maison de la Grande Vigne in Dinan,[79] including light blue, reds, and even a surprising orange. The artist finally settled on the chromatic range of Aegean ceramics rather than those found in Minoan frescoes, a choice which may have been dictated to her by the director of the company.

The decoration of the swimming pool can be recreated exactly thanks to the surviving paper designs (Figures 7.19–7.20), which Jean-Haffen did in gouache and are kept in Dinan.[80] It is only by un-scrolling the numerous rolls of this design that the breadth of the work carried out can truly be appreciated. The original panels appear to have been painted in casein paint on a chipboard base.[81] This technique, similar to fresco painting, had been developed by Mathurin Méheut, who had then passed the recipe on to his pupil. This permeable painting style, with a base of natural pigments and whitewash, gave the works a light grain, making them look like ancient works of art. It was adapted to a humid environment, as it preserved colours at warmer temperatures and was particularly well-suited to ships, where the use of solvents and flammable materials were prohibited due to the fire hazard. The fact that the master was happy to pass the recipe on to his pupil was indicative of their close working relationship. A number of Yvonne Jean-Haffen's sketches from Greece served as the basis for Mathurin Méheut's works, and vice-versa.[82] It was also not uncommon for the former pupil – now friend and collaborator – to help with Mathurin Méheut's work, as he was often inundated with orders.[83]

Mathurin Méheut, painter of Minoan daily life

This seems to have been the case for the twenty-seven frescoes destined for the *Aramis*. The two artists worked in a workshop that Mathurin Méheut had to hire specially for the occasion due to the imposing size of the numerous panels. Several of the

sketches in letters from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen show the canvases standing in the workshop beside the sketches made in Greece.[84] These documents are important since, to my knowledge, there is no surviving design for Méheut's works for the *Aramis*, and therefore no other way of knowing what colours were used in the final frescoes.[85] Of those works which were exhibited in the first-class dining room, there remain general photographs showing the layout, preserved in the albums of the Messageries Maritimes archives, and, thankfully, several photographs of the panels ordered by the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes and preserved in the Mathurin Méheut Museum in Lamballe.[86] In addition, amongst the internal memos explaining the decoration, there is a document presenting each of Mathurin Méheut's panels in detail and a brief mention of the artist's sources and inspirations: Minoan seal-stones, ceramics or frescoes.[87]

Mathurin Méheut was instructed to evoke daily life during the Minoan period, hence his choice of a certain number of scenes deriving from his observations of Minoan artworks or his own imagination: the olive harvest, the unloading of the fisherman's catch, the boar hunt, young girls with does (Figures 7.21–7.28). But he also had to bring to life the Cretan landscapes that he had seen during his travels.

These panels were destined for a very particular location: besides the dimensions provided by Marc Simon, Méheut had to take into account the height of their position, which might be near to the ceiling, or, in contrast, at the level of the tables in the dining room, or on the way down the staircase. Some works thus had to be visible from a distance, and others to stand up to close examination. The first-class passengers spent a great deal of time in the dining room, and its art therefore had to be varied enough for them to discover new details on a daily basis. Mathurin Méheut had to take all these considerations into account as he worked on these panels, synthesising what he had seen in Crete in order to obtain 'vivid, colourful works adapted to contemporary tastes'

(œuvres vivantes, colorées et adaptées aux goûts de ses contemporains).[88]

Thanks to Mathurin Méheut's description of his works and the photographs in the albums of the Messageries Maritimes archives, it is possible to recreate the placement of the works in the first-class dining room.

On either side of the staircase descending into the dining room, guests were welcomed by two frescoes: *Wild Duck Hunt* (Figure 7.22) and *Partridge*. These were almost copies of existing Aegean artworks, resized and lightly stylised; and in the explanatory notes, the artist clearly states having been inspired by Mycenaean daggers for the former and the Knossos frieze for the latter.

Passengers next discovered the frescoes inside the 'dome', which was in fact a raised, artificially lit, rectangular ceiling producing the effect of a light-well. On the right and left were two large works surrounded by smaller panels, which were also predominantly copies: *The Blue Bird* and *Cat and Pheasant* surrounded a hunting scene, whilst *Marine Fish and Plants* bordered the scene entitled *The Catch*. These smaller panels were versions of frescoes from Knossos, Ayia Triada and Phylakopi, in which the painter had taken a few liberties with the layout in order to fit his sources into the square format at his disposal. His choice of colours would have certainly diverged from the originals, and the stylisation of features, much less curved in Méheut's works than in Aegean art, demonstrates the modern and geometric tonality – i.e., Art Deco – with which he tempered his appropriation of these ancient works. Even in these small frescoes (the easiest to create, since they were based on sketches made on his trip to Greece), we can see true adaptation at work. The artist's personal stamp can be seen in the scene of marine life, which was his specialty: the joyous mix of dolphins, flying fish (Figure 7.23), argonauts, sponges, sea urchins and rocks is reminiscent of his drawings for *Regarde …*, the 1919 book produced with Colette for readers wanting to discover the marvels of the sea in fresh and bright colours; it is also

reminiscent of the china service *La Mer* designed for the Henriot de Quimper firm in 1920, of the plate design he produced for the fish restaurant Prunier in 1932 (still in use), and of the 1940 windows for l'Huitrière restaurant in Lille. It seems that Mathurin Méheut found a certain kinship between Minoan art and his own, since he remained an atypical painter of the 1930s, a lover of Brittany, sailors and the sea.

Mathurin Méheut also produced large frescoes spreading across two or three panels. To decorate the raised ceiling, he painted two scenes side by side, *The Hunt* (Figures 7.24A–7.24C) and *The Catch* as well as the fresco facing the passengers as they descended the staircase, *The Bullfighters* (Figures 7.25A–7.25C). These large frescoes were the product of knowledgeable reinterpretation bringing together inspiration from Minoan and Mycenaean frescoes (such as the Knossian 'Bull Leaping/Taureador' fresco), Mycenaean daggers, Minoan and Mycenaean seal-stones, as well as the Knossian 'Ivory Acrobat', the Vaphio gold cups and the Ayia Triada 'Boxer Rhyton'.

The archaeological inspiration may be obvious, but these compositions are very different from their sources. Mathurin Méheut reinterpreted the scenes and movements already familiar to him, such as the return from the catch, or animals such as the wild boar, because he had previously painted them for other ocean liners.[89] These paintings are very original: their figures, in full movement, seem to jump straight out of a film set. The acrobatics of the bullfighters multiply over several scenes, without any break in the action, whilst the wild boar chase begins as a solemn procession but quickly gathers speed, with the sleek greyhounds and wild boar appearing to spring out of the frame. The fishing scene brings a change of rhythm, however, like a slow-motion film:

> three men are carrying stiff heavy fish. In the background, ships with triangular sails adorned with red octopuses are sailing away, whilst in the centre and to the right two female bathers are watching dolphins leap out of the water … all these lively fish

> movements evolving above and in the water seem to be analysed and broken down.
>
> (trois hommes apportent des poissons lourds et raides. Au fond, des navires à voiles triangulaires décorées du poulpe rouge s'éloignent, tandis qu'au centre et à droite deux baigneuses regardent bondir des dauphins hors de l'eau … tous les mouvements vifs du poisson évoluant au-dessus de l'eau et dans l'eau semblent analysés et decomposés.)[90]

This atmosphere of calm serenity, more appropriate for dining, is also found in the paintings above certain tables on the walls of the dining room. These are also claimed to be inspired by works preserved in the Museums of Athens and Candia (present Herakleion), although no further detail is given; but these images are, in fact, reminiscent of pastoral and rural Cretan daily life scenes of the 1930s. The *Pastoral Scene* presents two small boys lying on the grass, playing with flowers, whilst herds of black goats graze on the hills far behind them; another scene evokes a *Pasture*, whilst two others – *The Olive Harvest* (Figures 7.26A–7.26B) and *Wine Making in Crete* – give us a glimpse of agricultural life. Even if Méheut's interpretation of Minoan female costume, with its skirt composed of broken lines, has a distinctively Art Deco flavour, the composition recalls other scenes of work in the fields which he had drawn in his native Brittany, as well as during his stay in Crete.

Finally, two other frescoes give the room a mysterious and exotic atmosphere. They are entitled *Cretan Women* (Figures 7.27A–7.27B) and *The Deer Dancers* (Figures 7.28A–7.28B). A few columns in these paintings (undoubtedly painted in red) recall the architecture of the Knossos palace, but they are enlivened by doves and garlands. In the first fresco, the (white) Cretan women are seated, weaving garlands of flowers, whilst a black woman brings them a bowl full of crocuses. In the second, two Cretan women are surrounded by fallow deer and playing with them. The Knossos frescoes show Minoans in deep conversation and landscapes strewn with crocuses and

lilies, and of course seal-stone representations of the ‘ Mistress of Animals’ motif lie at the heart of these compositions. But Mathurin Méheut’s inspiration is perhaps more complex than this, for in 1914, during his trip to Japan, he had painted dancing women surrounded by sacred deer at Nara, in a very similar composition, with red columns also in the background.[91]

With the help of the sketches made by Méheut in his letters to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, and the photographs of the panels kept in the museum in Lamballe, it transpires that the artist generally used the colours he had seen in the frescoes at Knossos but clearly diverged from his sources in his style of drawing. The artist used the Euclidian perspective and ellipse to which he was accustomed, giving these scenes a more contemporary feel. We also see in these paintings the broken lines, geometric patterns and anatomy of figure so characteristic of 1930s sculpture.[92]

Without losing sight of his own soul and style, Mathurin Méheut was thus able to draw from Aegean art and breathe life into the works ordered by the shipping company, whilst adapting form and layout to produce distinctively Art Deco frescoes. Without doubt, his vivid and colourful paintings greatly contributed to the unexpected and original marriage between Aegean art and Art Deco on board the ocean liner *Aramis*.

With their furnishings, architecture and decoration, the reception rooms of the *Aramis* thus allowed a ‘happy few’ (including President Doumergue and his wife) to spend a short while living the Aegean dream: in many respects, a reinvented, exotic, colourful and modern world. This dream, conjured up by Georges Philippar, orchestrated by Georges Raymond, and given colour by Yvonne Jean-Haffen and Mathurin Méheut, reflected a particular idea of the Minoan world, but also a particular way of life: two paradises now lost to us.

Another loss was the *Aramis* itself, which this puzzle of archives, photographs, paintings and drawings has attempted

to bring back to life via an imaginary tour.[93] One does not know whether Arthur Evans, already elderly at the time, knew of this floating recreation that was trying to compete with archaeological museums and spreading the word about Aegean art in the Far East; but it seems a fair assumption that the discoverer of Knossos, and inventor of the Minoans, would have appreciated this cruise.

Notes

1 English translation of the original French text by Hayley Wood.

2 The ship bore the name of one of the musketeers in Alexandre Dumas' famous adventure novel, *The Three Musketeers*.

3 Behind this apparently French name with an entirely Greek etymology lay a modern ship (naus) with motors, which did not run on steam but via the action of the piston petrol (naphta) burned in the cylinder; this was, therefore, one of the first ocean liners to use an internal combustion engine and, in fact, one of the first with a diesel engine.

4 This information is taken from the page dedicated to the ocean liner *Aramis* in the 'History' section of the French Lines website: http://www.frenchlines.com/ship_en_1026.php

5 This article began with an intriguing reference in Farnoux's 2006 article (p. 362) to 'the ocean liner *Aramis* which entered into service in 1932 and was entirely decorated in a Minoan style' (le paquebot Aramis mis en service en 1932 et entièrement décoré en style minoen), and a footnote (n. 33) referring to a book dedicated to the ocean liners: Sicard 1998, pp. 23–25. Alexandre Farnoux suggested that I explore this avenue further, and I hereby present the fruit of my research.

6 The Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes had launched a major ocean liner shipbuilding programme after the majority of its fleet was destroyed during the First World War. Other ships were due to be built after the *Aramis*, so the launch of this ocean liner had to be a success.

7 Despite the claim in certain previous works (including Vian 1992, p. 90), a thorough search of the captains' reports for every voyage carried out by the *Aramis* (French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 3942, Aramis file) reveals that the ship never travelled in Greece, although the Touring Club of Switzerland did charter it in 1935 for a Mediterranean cruise which called at Palma de Mallorca, Sousse, Tripoli, Malta, Palermo and Naples.

8 The ship was 165 metres long; weighed 20,320 tonnes; had 281 officer and crew members; was capable of carrying 1076 passengers (eight luxury cabins, 183 first-class cabins, 133 second-class cabins, 102 third-class cabins and 650 berths in steerage); had 20 lifeboats capable of holding all the passengers; and had eight waterproof partitions dividing the hull into nine compartments. Every article reminded the reader that 'the *Aramis* has been built under the close surveillance of the Bureau Veritas and has received the highest award from this organisation. It meets every point of the International Convention for the Safety

of Life at Sea' (l'Aramis a été construit sous la surveillance spéciale du Bureau Véritas et a reçu la première cote de ce bureau de classification. Il satisfait en tous points aux exigences de la Convention Internationale de Londres pour la sauvegarde de la vie humaine).

9 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4967, Aramis file, document entitled 'Maiden voyage of the Aramis' (Premier voyage de l'Aramis).

10 *Revue Bleue, le Yacht, Revue des Voyages, la Renaissance, Journal des Chambres de Commerce, Bulletin Technique du Bureau Veritas, la France Nouvelle, Bulletin Mer et Colonie, Dépêche coloniale, Daily Mail, Bulletin de l'Afrique Française, Bulletin du Comité de l'Océanie Française, Afrique et Levant, Radio Marine Transports, Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, Paris-Midi, Supplément Colonial de l'Economiste Européen, le Petit Bleu, Journal des Débats, l'Œuvre, la Vie, Bulletin de l'Asie Française, la Victoire, Journal de Liège, l'Ordre, Services Radio Vox*. This list is taken from the document entitled 'Maiden voyage of the Aramis' (Premier voyage de l'Aramis), French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4967, Aramis file.

11 Only one article (entitled 'Sur l'Aramis') criticised the ship's decor in the Saigon newspaper *Presse Indochinoise* of 20 November 1932:

> But I permit myself some reservations as regards the decoration. I found it overly rich. I found it too luxurious. I even found it saddening. Is this really the time to roll out such *nouveau riche* luxury? Who will benefit from it? … These halls, these rooms, these flabbergasting salons will be reserved for many years to come for the magnates of Indochinese administration … Is this luxury – of questionable taste – really appropriate?
>
> (Mais là où je me suis permis quelques réserves, c'est en ce qui concerne la décoration. Je l'ai trouvée trop riche. Je l'ai trouvée trop luxueuse. Je l'ai même trouvée attristante. Est-ce bien le moment d'étaler ce luxe de nouveau riche ?… Et qui donc en profitera ?… Ces halls, ces salles, ces salons éberluants seront réservés, de longues années durant, aux magnats de l'administration indochinoise … Ce luxe – d'un goût discutable – était-il vraiment indiqué?)

12 *Courrier de Saigon*, 16 November 1932.

13 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file. A series of internal memos or press releases has been preserved in this file.

14 Note entitled 'Naval Bulletin – Maiden Voyage of the Aramis' (Bulletin Maritime – Premier Voyage de l'Aramis), this note seems to be a draft and does not appear to have been circulated, but instead superseded by another version. French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file.

15 *La Méditerranéei* November 1932, article 'The Marseillaise Fleet – The New *Nautonaphte*, "Aramis"' (La Flotte Marseillaise – Le Nouveau Nautonaphte "Aramis")

16 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 5315.

17 'Académie de Marine', Vol. III, No. 8, Paris, Challamel, p. 38.

18 Upon the launch of the ocean liner *Île de France* in 1927, John Dal Piaz launched the wisecrack, 'Ladies, tell me, with your short skirts and your short hair cuts,

why do you want to sit in Louis XVI wing chairs?' in the *Bulletin de la Compagnie Générale Transatlantique* (15 July 1927).

19 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 5315.

20 See Vian 1992, p. 90.

21 Jean-François Champollion (Figeac, 1790–Paris, 1832) and Auguste Mariette, who went by the name of Mariette Pacha (Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1821–Le Caire, 1881), were two famous French Egyptologists. These ocean liners were named in their honour.

22 Théophile Gautier (Tarbes, 1811–Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1872) was a French author known for his short stories and adventure novels, which included *Captain Fracasse*, and Gothic tales such as *The Mummy's Foot*. His literary works were inspired by his numerous travels in Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Egypt. Having introduced his readers to the East, it was only fitting that he should give his name to a luxury ocean liner.

23 Félix Roussel (Bagnolet, 1856–Paris, 1925) had been president of the administrative committee of the Messageries Maritimes during the period in which they were focusing on their development in the Far East. This ship was thus named in honour of the recently deceased president.

24 A prime example of this is the neo-Egyptian Parisian cinema *Le Louxor*, which was built in 1921 by Henri-André Zipcy.

25 See Finance 2013, p. 24.

26 See Philippar & Philippar 1916, pp. 45–50. This journey and the notes date from before the First World War.

> The word Greece, even more than Spain or Italy, is full of promise. You will not find a young man in whom it does not evoke ideas of beauty, light and happiness. Even the least studious schoolboys and those who curse most eloquently Greek history and Greek composition, when they fall asleep on their Greek dictionaries, they dream of Greece.
>
> (Le nom de la Grèce, plus encore que celui de l'Espagne ou de l'Italie, est plein de promesses. Vous ne trouverez pas un jeune homme en qui il n'éveille les idées de beauté, de lumière et de bonheur. Les écoliers les moins studieux et qui maudissent le plus éloquemment l'histoire de la Grèce et la version grecque, s'ils s'endorment sur leur dictionnaire grec, rêvent de la Grèce.)
>
> (Philippar & Philippar 1916, p. 45)

27 Notably Islam, which he wrote about on a number of occasions. See Philippar & Philippar 1916, p. 287: 'Why the French should study Islam' (Pourquoi les Français doivent étudier l'Islam).

28 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'L'Aramis', p. 18. In the margin of this document, Mathurin Méheut noted that he might at least have also included the works of Arthur Evans!

29 See Yiakoumis & Roy 2000, and the captains' reports of the *Sénégal* and the *Orénoque*, French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4295, Sénégal and Orénoque files.

30 See p. 85.

31 See Caloi 2011.

32 For example, Glotz 1923, p. IV, pp. 74–75: 'But when the Cretan artist represents Cretans, he indulgently slims down their waists … This is a way of expressing their agility and vivacity; in a curious parallel, this can also be found in Japanese art.' (Mais quand l'artiste crétois représente des Crétois, il leur affine la taille avec complaisance … Il y a là un procédé destiné à exprimer l'agilité, la vivacité; par une rencontre curieuse, il se retrouve dans l'art japonais.) See also Caloi, Chapter 4 in this volume.

33 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'Bulletin Maritime. Le départ de l'Aramis' (Naval Bulletin. The departure of the Aramis), p. 5.

34 *Ibid.*

35 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'L'Aramis', p. 17.

36 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'List of titles to have engraved for the twelve photographs of Cretan works of art' (Liste des titres à faire graver de douze photographies d'œuvres d'art crétois) and document entitled 'L'Aramis', p. 28.

37 The information and photographs appear to have been taken from *L'Art égéen* by Jean Charbonneaux, published in 1929, in which the Louvre Museum curator refers not only to the original objects, but also to the copies preserved in the Louvre and the French Musée des Antiquités Nationales in Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

38 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'Bulletin Maritime. Le départ de l'Aramis' (Naval Bulletin. The departure of the Aramis), p. 5.

39 *Ibid.*

40 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 5315, document entitled 'A contribution to the history of ship decoration and furnishings. Communication presented to the Académie de Marine on Friday 19 February 1926, by M. Georges Philippar' (Contribution à l'histoire de la décoration des navires et des installations pour passagers à bord. Communication faite à la séance de l'Académie de Marine du Vendredi 19 février 1926, par M. Georges Philippa), pp. 72–74 and no. 1997 002 5004, document entitled 'Conference at the l'Institut Océanographique, 1 December 1926' (Conference à l'Institut Océanographique 11 décembre 1926), p. 5.

41 See Sicard 2013, pp. 170–179.

42 See Breon & Rivoirard 2013, pp. 11–12.

43 See Sicard 2013, pp. 170–179.

44 See Finance 2013, p. 29.

45 On *l'Athos II* (1927), the *Eridan* (1928), the *Félix Roussel* (1929) and the *Jean Laborde* (1930) see de Stoop 2012, pp. 46–52.

46 See the archives of the Maison de la Grande Vigne in Dinan, letters from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, LM 215 and LM 434, for examples.

47 In fact, most of the discoveries on Crete were found before 1914, and the most famous objects from Mycenae were discovered well before 1900.

48 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'Bulletin Maritime. Le départ de l'Aramis', p. 4: 'Georges Philippar sent architects and painters to embellish the designs and sketches' ([Georges Philippar] envoya architectes et peintres relever des plans et des croquis). The exact date is unknown, but this trip is likely to have taken place before February 1932, when Yvonne Jean-Haffen received a letter detailing the orders from the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes. It cannot have taken place in 1932, as the sketches Mathurin Méheut made in Crete are dated to 1932.

49 Various letters from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen preserved in the Maison de la Grande Vigne in Dinan refer to this: LM 158, LM 183, LM 185, LM 187, LM 215, LM 431, etc. The letter LM 546 is the most amusing:

> So I had a visit from Philippar and of course he chose the ugliest things and didn't bother to look at the sketches of things I had worked on for ages … so I'm back working on the animals, what an odd fish that darling is! As for Georges Raymond, marvellous, he came to dinner on Sunday and it was marvellous. He even brought up many of the points which I wanted to mention in relation to the first boat to launch. The orders will be placed 2 months from now, and of course you will be included.
>
> (J'ai donc eu la visite de Philippar, naturellement, il a choisi ce qu'il y avait de plus moche et n'a pas daigné regarder les maquettes des choses où je m'étais acharné … alors je me recolle à des animaux, quel zèbre ce lapin-là! Tant qu'à Georges Raymond, épatant, il est venu déjeuner dimanche et a été épatant. Il a même provoqué sur beaucoup de points ce que je désirais relativement au premier bateau à lancer. Les commandes vont avoir lieu d'ici 2 mois, et naturellement vous y êtes.)

50 In the memos giving the characteristics of the decor, this is clearly stated for each object. French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'L'Aramis', p. 18 and following.

51 The analysis of the ship's decoration is primarily based on the cross-referencing of different documents preserved in the French Lines archives: no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'L'Aramis', and various versions of that note dedicated to the decor in various states of completion, as well as other documents entitled 'List of decorative works' (Liste des œuvres décoratives), 'Minoan art' (L'art minoen), 'List of titles to inscribe under M. Mathurin Méheut's watercolours onboard the Aramis' (Liste des titres à faire figurer sous les aquarelles de M. Mathurin Méheut à bord de l'Aramis), no. 1999 001 008 (1), a very complete album of photographs dedicated to the *Aramis*'s interior decor, no. 1999 001 008 (2), and an album which seems to be less complete.

52 As we do not have a very detailed image, it is very difficult to judge.

53 This was, in any case, what the journalist from the *Journal de Hong Kong* remarked upon on 23 November 1932, commenting on the 'Artistry of woodwork' and proclaiming that in this room 'one sees wood in all its glory'.

54 Although flowers with long pistils, like the lily or crocus, are often seen on Minoan frescos and ceramics.

55 These spirals, connected by triskelions, can be found on one of the inlaid Mycenaean daggers and on Minoan ceramics.

56 This was one of the few articles not based on the memos produced and circulated by the Messageries Maritimes. It is therefore of particular interest as a personal and articulate contemporary opinion.

57 A visit to the loft of the moulding workshop of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales revealed five rhyta ready to be tinted, and the mould was discovered in the course of a search through the cast collection.

58 The large number of pseudo-Minoan thrones certainly contributes to this impression.

59 These octopuses had been copied on the porphyry stone at Knossos.

60 Geometric motifs in black forged iron standing out from a white background were very common during the Art Deco period.

61 *Journal de Hong Kong*, 23 November 1932.

62 Since the 19th century, numerous drawings of the Treasury of Atreus had been circulating in the general press and specialised studies. See Blakomer, Chapter 3 in this volume.

63 See Caloi 2011, p. 193, fig. 7.6a, pls. V and X.

64 The fabric can be seen in the Maison Prelle online catalogue: http://www.prelle.fr/en/etoffes/documents/1900–195ith the reference P9419 Arcadie

65 The shipping company notes actually state that this entrance is surrounded by two dark-brown pithoi with a relief decor, after a jar decorated with palm tree motifs in the Herakleion Museum. But this cannot be seen on the surviving photographs.

66 Vian 1992, p. 109. The Messageries memos state that this frieze was designed by the painter Deléage, but give no further detail. The watercolour study exhibited in this work could not be found in the French Lines Association Messageries Maritimes archives, and the name Deléage does not feature amongst the painters who created their own designs independently.

67 Mathurin Méheut (Lamballe, 1882–Paris, 1958) was a painter who first made a name for himself in 1910 with his depictions of marine animals at the Roscoff biology station. After Albert Kahn's 'Bourse autour du Monde', which took him to Japan in 1913–14, and World War I, during which he was mobilized at Arras, in 1921 he became a *Peintre de la Marine* (Painter of the Fleet) and returned to Brittany. Besides landscapes and studies in different media linked to the sea and everyday life in Brittany, he also worked for the Henriot pottery factory in Quimper, and in 1924, he began to paint interior designs for ocean liners. He was also a professor at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Rennes.

68 Yvonne Jean-Haffen (Paris, 1895–Léhon, 1993) was passionate about painting from childhood and became Mathurin Méheut's pupil in 1925. It was through him that she discovered Brittany, and their friendship led to her working with the Henriot pottery factory in Quimper and then with the Compagnies Maritimes on decorating ocean liners. They also worked together on large-scale designs, such as that of the Heinz and Co. building in Pittsburg in 1930 and the Institut de Géologie in Rennes in 1942. As a painter, designer, illustrator and ceramicist, her output was diverse, but she always retained a preference for Brittany, as shown by her purchase of her house, the Maison de la Grande Vigne

in Dinan. Upon Mathurin Méheut's death, it was she who created the Musée Mathurin Méheut at Lamballe, and in 1987 she bequeathed her house to the town of Dinan to be turned into a home for artists as well as an exhibition space for her works (which numbered at around 4,000 items, and were also bequeathed to the town of Dinan).

69 Various letters from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen preserved in the Maison de la Grande Vigne in Dinan: LM 158, LM 170, LM 175, LM 185, LM 187, LM 215, LM 394, LM 431, LM 553, LM 546 and LM 605.

70 Various letters from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen preserved in the Maison de la Grande Vigne in Dinan, PA 13, letter from 3 February 1932.

71 See Delouche & de Stoop 2012, p. 52.

72 The adults' games room (with a ping-pong table etc.) rather than the one for children decorated with a Trojan War theme.

73 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'L'Aramis', p. 23. These included versions of Knossian frescoes, such as 'Partridges', 'Ladies in Blue', 'Taureador', 'Blue Monkey'; versions of frescoes from Ayia Triada, such as 'Crocus Clumps' and 'Cat stalking the Pheasant'; and finally, a version of the 'Boar's Hunt' fresco from Tiryns.

74 Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan, quick sketch in ink, [inv.] DE 63 and studies of lilies, [inv.] MA. 690 and MA. 694, and the letters of Mathurin Méheut with a drawing showing Yvonne Jean-Haffen carrying out the sketch of the 'Prince of Lilies' Knossian fresco in the Herakleion Museum, LM 623 *in situ*, LM 627.

75 See Delouche & de Stoop 2012, pp. 51–52.

76 Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan, [inv.] HC. 74.

77 Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan, [inv.] DE.62, DE.64, DE.67, MA.682, MA.683, MA.685, MA.686, MA.691, MA.692, MA.695.

78 Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan, [inv.] MA. 681, final sketch for one of the panels and MA.699, the design in its entirety.

79 Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan, [inv.] MA.1, MA.2, MA.3, MA.4 and MA.680.

80 Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan, inv. MA. 699, the design in its entirety, nine panels (80 cm × 360 cm).

81 Delouche *et al.* 2004, p. 157.

82 Mathurin Méheut thus returned one of Yvonne Jean-Haffen's drawings, a sketch of a Tiryns fresco which had got lost in his boxes, Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan, LM 114 B. See Delouche Denise, de Stoop 2012, p. 159.

83 See Delouche & de Stoop 2012, pp. 159–162.

84 Archives of Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan, letters from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, LM 6 B, LM 11 B, LM 14 B, LM 15 B.

85 Studies of landscapes and the Knossos site are preserved in the correspondence between Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen kept in the archives of the Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan (LM 69 B, LM 624, LM625, LM 626, LM 627), and several works in private collections evoke the tones of the frescoes

which Mathurin Méheut produced for the *Aramis* without directly referring to them. For these latter, see Delouche *et al.* 2004, p. 75, *Le Temple de Cnossos* and p. 338, *Les Baigneuses*, whose decoration and figures draw inspiration from Minoan Crete (pithoi, agrimi, red Minoan column, etc.). A colour display of one of the Vaphio vases, exhibited as part of the 2013 *Mathurin Méheut* exhibition at the Musée de la Marine, is also in a private collection.

86 Archives of the Musée Mathurin Méheut in Lamballe.

87 French Lines archives, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file, document entitled 'List of decorative works' (Liste des titres des œuvres décoratives).

88 Delouche *et al.* 2004, pp. 156–157.

89 *Ibid.*

90 French Lines archive, no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis files, document entitled 'List of decorative works' (Liste des titres des œuvres décoratives).

91 *Dancer and sacred deer, Nara*, illustration from a Japan travel notebook, Musée Mathurin Méheut in Lamballe.

92 Delouche *et al.* 2004, pp. 156–157. With their pronounced stature and developed musculature, his figures resemble the sculptures being produced at the time by Alfred Janniot, Carlo Sarrabezolles, Jacques Lipchitz, Antoine Bourdelle and Paul Landowski.

93 I would like to thank Alexandre Farnoux, who encouraged me to follow the traces which remained of the ocean liner *Aramis* and to present the results of my research at the 2013 Cretomania workshop. But this chapter could not have seen the light of day without the help of the staff of the French Lines Association, particularly those working in the archives at Le Havre. I am grateful for their availability and assistance, and for making available to me a substantial number of archives which provided the material for this chapter. My thanks are also due to heritage officer Florence René, to the employees of the Dinan town museums, and to the staff of the Maison d'artiste de la Grande Vigne, Dinan – Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen – for their kindness, their welcome, and their dedication in making available to me the designs for the swimming pool onboard the *Aramis*, the sketches made in Greece and the archives of Yvonne Jean-Haffen, including the letters sent to her by Mathurin Méheut, and finally to Chrystèle Rozé at the Musée Mathurin Méheut in Lamballe for providing me with digital copies of the few photographs which remain of the panels produced by Mathurin Méheut for the *Aramis*.

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no. 1997 002 4971, Aramis file. A series of notes intended for internal circulation or for communication to the press is preserved in this file. They concern the technical characteristics and the decor of the ocean liner: documents entitled 'L'Aramis', 'Liste des titres à faire graver de douze photographies d'œuvres d'art crétois', 'L'art minoen', 'Liste des titres des œuvres décoratives'

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no. 1997 002 5315, Georges Philippar, communication to the Académie de Marine 12 February 1926, entitled 'Contribution à l'histoire de la décoration des navires et des installations pour passagers à bord'

no. 1997 002 5331, Aramis file, plan of the ship with layout and photographs

no. 1997 002 5331, Aramis file, envelope containing photographs of the ocean liner

no. 1999 001 008 (1), album of photographs focusing on the interior decoration of the Aramis, very complete

no. 1999 001 008 (2), album of photographs as above (but appears to be less complete)

no. 1999 002 4699, envelope 11, various documents, press cuttings regarding the launch of the ship

Archives of the Maison de la Grande Vigne-Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen, Dinan, PA and LM (letters from Mathurin Méheut)

Archives of the Musée Mathurin Méheut in Lamballe

Appendix

This Appendix contains inventory numbers of the works preserved in the Maison de la Grande Vigne-Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen, Dinan, relating to Yvonne Jean-Haffen and

Mathurin Méheut's trip to Greece and their production of the paintings for the ocean liner *Aramis*. Notes on these works can be found at http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/joconde/fr/pres.htm except for the letters from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen.

Works by Yvonne Jean-Haffen:

DE.52, DE.53, DE.54, DE.55, DE.60, DE.62, DE.63, DE.64, DE.67

HC.58, HC.59, HC.74

MA.1, MA.2, MA.3, MA.4, MA.680, MA.681, MA.682, MA.683, MA.684, MA.685, MA.686, MA.687, MA.688, MA.689, MA.690, MA.691, MA.692, MA.694, MA.695

Drawings by Mathurin Méheut on his letters to Yvonne Jean-Haffen:

LM 6 B, LM 11 B, LM 14 B, LM 15 B, LM 16 B, LM 69 B, LM 114 B, LM 622, LM 623, LM 624, LM 625, LM 626, LM 627

Chapter 8

Cretomania and neo-paganism: the Great Mother Goddess and gay male identity in the Minoan Brotherhood

Bryan E. Burns

The ruins and imagery of Minoan Crete have been celebrated as heritage for local communities, as an island-wide Cretan identity, in moments of Greek nationalism, and through specifically European types of Cretomania. In today's world, the Minoans exist within a discourse of global heritage, which can, in turn, foster very personal interactions and sometimes quite intimate identification with the past. Best known may be the 'goddess worshippers', a term that most often refers to the women who connect with a divine presence through ritual pilgrimage to ancient sites across the island.[1]

A contemporary group of North American men also construct their spiritual and sexual identity through invocations of the Minoan civilisation – through its archaeology and its mythology. The Minoan Brotherhood is a neopagan organisation for gay and bisexual men who take inspiration for their ritual practice from the iconography of Bronze Age Crete and a long stream of scholarly interpretations and popular receptions. As an initiatory cult, the organisation keeps many aspects of its rites private, but they do share a *mythos* that centres on the divine pair of a supreme female and her youthful son, developed from writings by Arthur Evans, Jane Harrison, and the popular writers and artists they inspired. These interpretations of archaeology, religion, and myth all call upon classical Greek sources to understand Minoan Crete, and the Minoan Brotherhood – similar to other ancient and contemporary pagan traditions – draws from a broad historical continuum in their own formulation of a Great Mother Goddess, who offers a special

connection to men open to alternative spiritual and sexual orientation.

Orientations

This chapter traces the pathways of interpretation and identification that offer ancient precedents for the Minoan Brotherhood's ritual actions, but which also demonstrate the establishment of Minoan Crete as a locus for shifting notions of masculinity, male erotics, and a burgeoning gay identity. Rather than experiencing Crete directly, members of the Minoan Brotherhood foster development and forge community through rituals enacted in 'temenos' sanctuaries across North America and the United Kingdom. The group describes itself as 'a men's initiatory tradition of the Craft celebrating Life, Men Loving Men, and Magic in a Cretan context',[2] and as a non-initiate, I have only limited knowledge of the particulars. A comprehensive biography of the Minoan Brotherhood's founder, Eddie Buczynski, provides rich description of the social and religious context in which this tradition developed in the 1960s and 1970s.[3] Through interviewing four members of the Brotherhood, all of whom have earned the title 'Minos' or priest of the highest level, I can confirm some outlines of their practice and belief.

There are two areas of inquiry, which, despite their relevance to the larger topic of 'Minoan' sexuality, do not factor directly in the Brotherhood's understanding of Crete. These are the reconstructions of same-sex desire in the individual case of Arthur Evans, and the societal practices of Dorian Crete that have been linked to the imagery of the Chieftan Cup from Aghia Triada. Alexander MacGillivray's 2000 biography of Evans, *Minotaur*, detailed an incident late in Evans's life through which we may see his attraction to men,[4] and therefore a new insight into his characterisation of gender dynamics in Minoan art. Another realization that encourages us to rethink Minoan iconography is Robert Koehl's interpretation of the Chieftan Cup through the description attributed to Ephorus of ritualised abduction that characterises

'their own distinct custom about erotic relationships' (Strabo X.4.21).[5] The members of the Minoan Brotherhood I have met with are not overly concerned with the personal motivations that may underlie Evans's societal reconstructions or the material 'reconstitutions' of Knossos and its artefacts. And while they are interested in new developments in the field of Aegean archaeology, their readings in Minoan scholarship tend to be the 'classics' of the early- to mid- 20th century. They take as a given the existence of homosexual actors in all ages and cultures, and see great continuity between the cultures of the ancient Mediterranean and beyond. Thus, they are very open to the kinds of religious history and comparative mythology that also underlay Evans's approach to Aegean archaeology.

Formulations of Minoan gender and divinity

Aspects of the body, such as gender, sexuality, and morality (though often described in terms of temperament, character, and belief), play a surprisingly significant role in the initial assessments of Minoan culture. Visual representations were treated as surrogates for individual persons, who could represent a complex society that produced sophisticated arts and architecture, yet left no written history. Scholars supplied explanations from later periods of Greek history or sought parallels in other ancient or 'primitive' cultures as they reconstructed life in palace chambers, or identified represented subjects as priestess, queen, or goddess. These reimagined lives and named figures of prehistoric Greece became compelling symbols beyond the intersecting disciplines of classics and archaeology.[6]

As numerous contributions to this Cretomania volume detail, the publication of the *The Palace of Minos* volumes, beginning in 1921, marks a turning point for a long history of Minoan reception. Evans's tomes functioned as an established resource, not only for detailed plans or chronological frameworks, but also for a refined formulation of Minoan history, society, and religion – all courtesy of the Knossos excavator himself.[7] The explanation of Minoan life was not

always direct from the excavations, but also incorporated the interpretation and interventions of other scholars, including archaeologists and scholars of religion that promoted cross-cultural explorations. Evans's writings and the artistic restorations commissioned from the Gilliérons were thus lent a provocative appeal through interpretations of Greek mythology and broad reconstructions of the religion of 'primitive cultures'.[8]

Evans's lectures and writings fuelled popular works that drew new archaeological discoveries into a vision of Crete already characterised by later Greek mythology as an island of deviant desire and lingering threats. Contrary to the medical and androcentric definition of 'Cretomania', of which Donald Preziosi reminds us in Chapter 1 of this volume, the excessive desires of the island are mostly female: Pasiphae's bestial lust for the bull, Ariadne's betrayal of family for Theseus, Phaedra's incestuous passion for Hippolytus. Roman poets made much of these 'Cretan Women', and the later tradition clearly ties uncontained female lust with other types of deviancy and aberrant gender.[9] Standing in stark contrast to the island's perversions is the mainland hero Theseus, who is repeatedly matched with the overzealous children of Minos and Pasiphae.

In modern representations and retellings, the Minotaur often becomes a more sympathetic figure – and the struggle between Theseus and the Minotaur a more complex negotiation. Despite the fact that Minotaur iconography in Bronze Age Crete is actually rather scant and appears relatively late, his hybrid figure looms large in early discussions of Minoan civilisation. Expectations based on the mythological tradition found confirmation in the predominance of bull symbolism at Knossos, which helped underscore the primitive elements of a sophisticated society. H.R. Hall could invoke George Frederic Watts's sinister Minotaur (1885), and then (on the same page) conclude that the Minoans were 'an ancient culture, highly developed, peaceful, art-loving and luxurious, effeminate if you will'.[10] Also connecting the rites of Knossos to the legend of the Minotaur – wondering if bull games represent human

sacrifice – Pendlebury characterised the lost palatial civilisation as ‘ … something grotesque perhaps, something fantastic and cruel, but something also very lovely’.[11]

Evans would similarly draw on ideas of Crete stemming from classical sources, other ancient cultures, and his own era’s notions of primitive societies. Cynthia Eller has recently examined the question of when Evans first articulated the theory that Minoan religion was focused principally on a female deity, claiming that he did not fully promote the priority of a Cretan Mother Goddess until the completion of the first series of excavations at Knossos (1900–1913).[12] But Evans at least had a clear sense of the importance of a female divinity in the Aegean pantheon well before beginning his excavations at Knossos.[13] His Goddess and son were prefigured by Bachofen’s theory of matriarchal prehistory, which already included Crete by virtue of the strong female figures in the island’s mythology, and was supported by Frazer’s cross-cultural studies of primitive religion.[14] Evans’s study of the ‘tree and pillar cult’ was published just after his first season of excavations, but the ideas were well established in an 1896 lecture, as he himself stated.[15] Drawing primarily on glyptic evidence, Evans presented columns and trees (and baetyls) as central to ritual scenes. He found that the aniconic image enabled a duality of divine gender, in that ‘the same pillar’ [for example] ‘can represent a divinity either in a male or female aspect’.[16] Evans found more particular evidence of the Aegean divine pair in his analysis of an engraved ring from Mycenae, where worshipping figures clustered around a seated female, the Goddess, much larger than the male in the background. Although characterised by the sun and the moon, the male and female were not equal partners. As Evans described it, ‘the male divinity is not so much the consort as the son or youthful favourite. The relationship is rather that of Rhea than of Hera to Zeus, of Adonis rather than of Arês to Aphroditê’.[17] This description draws directly on the formulation of the divine mistress and lesser male consort

offered in Frazer's *Golden Bough*, and also shows how easily Evans would enter into dialogue with the Cambridge Ritualists.[18]

In the later *Palace of Minos* volumes, Evans presented more dramatic material evidence that bolstered his long-held theories. He published a number of figurines acquired by collectors and museums that are now widely considered modern forgeries.[19] But Evans saw two gold and ivory figurines as genuine representations of the Mother Goddess – assured by their matronly proportions. The crown and snakes of the so-called Boston Goddess mark her 'dominion of the Nether World',[20] while the elaborate dress of an even more commanding figure that Evans named 'Our Lady of Sports', now in Toronto, signals patronage over bull sports. Evans himself purchased the small ivory figurine that he interpreted as a 'boy god', also called 'Adonis' and 'the Divine Child'. Evans understood its identity in direct relation to the Mother Goddess, and the Boston Goddess in particular. Although none of the figures had detailed provenance – aside from a vague 'Cretan' origin – Evans imagined these two as a coordinated pair, carved by the same hand. He even provided a likely find-spot at Knossos for them, suggesting that they were 'part of the same ivory treasure' with less divine figurines that he had excavated there. With an illustration (Figure 8.1) to demonstrate the power dynamic he imagined between the two figures, Evans conceived of the male's adoration as evidence that, 'however much the male element had asserted itself in the domain of government … the Religion still continued to reflect the older matriarchal stage of social development'.[21] The pivotal role played by decontextualised Minoan objects, including heavily restored works and forged antiquities with fictional provenance, demonstrates the desire to possess the past – to 'make one's own', whether through collecting or interpretation.

Arthur Evans also introduced the arts of Bronze Age Crete as depictions of real mortals – in the actions and details that

revealed what was peculiar to Minoan life. The first life-size image to be uncovered, now widely known as the 'Cup-bearer', was celebrated by Evans as the first 'true portraiture of a man of this mysterious … race'.[22] But the particular identity, and gender, caused some confusion at first. Although the Knossos excavations would soon uncover enough examples to distinguish the conventions of gender representation of red skin tones generally used for males, and white for females,[23] the 'Cup-bearer' was originally described by Evans as 'Ariadne': he even elaborated on her profile 'of a noble type' and attractive form, including 'beautifully modelled' arms and small waist.[24] This misidentification is easily understood, given the general similarity of body forms in Knossian art,[25] and the fact that the 'Cupbearer' wears such Victorian gender markers as jewelry and a skirt. The more elaborate dress of Minoan women has certainly garnered scholarly and popular attention, and occasionally some confusion as well, as discussed below.

Transhistorical associations quickly moved beyond archaeological scholarship into popular writings of all types. John Myres brought an academic perspective to the points of continuity he saw between the Minoan vest and skirt of ancient and traditional Cretan costumes.[26] But he was preceded by more expansive histories of dress, which emphasised sophistication and character across cultures. Thus, the Minoan female was connected through her fashion with other sophisticated cultures: a jacket with a 'high "Medici" collar;' a sash that 'recalls the Japanese "Obi"'.[27] The satirical history of undergarments, *Unmentionables*, celebrates the modern corsets of the female bull jumpers of Crete who have 'flung off flounces'.[28] This text plays with the power dynamics of dress, building on the erroneous reading of the Minoan flounced skirts as trousers – 'for women!' alongside the near-nudity of the Minoan male: 'the trousered Minoan lady is perforce quite innocent of any affectation of "mannishness", as her escort is frequently satisfied with merely a shirt or tunic and is never "tailored" beyond a loincloth or very short kilt'.[29]

But ‘who wears the pants?’ was a pressing question for many societies of the early 20th century, especially for those who envisioned powerful women potentially subordinating the status of men. This perceived effeminacy of the Minoans can thus be compared with discourses in other scholarly fields. Ethnographic attitudes of the 1920s, for example, were greatly shaped by Margaret Mead’s *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, where the ‘submissive’ men of the Chambri are depicted as decorative artists, with ‘delicately arranged curls [and] mincing step’, who spend their wives’ earnings ‘such as a modern woman with a well-filled purse’.[30]

Notions of female dominance of Minoan society were further encouraged by the small frame of the male physique in Minoan art. Minoan men were consistently described in terms that emphasised their small size, effeminate style, and ephebic beauty, borrowing the terms of Classical Athens. This was neatly summed up by Charles and Harriet Boyd Hawes:

> The male form was spare, ‘wasp-waisted’ … lithe and sinewy; hands and feet were slender … The trait the artists loved chiefly to portray was the high spirit, the graceful hauteur of the Minoan youth, *kalos k’agathos*.[31]

The slightness of males, as a general attribute, follows from the surviving representations of young men, usually recognised as athletes and princes, as if Minoan males never fully matured into bearded men and kings. Rather than a centre of Minos’s imperial rule, some envisioned Knossos as ‘a palace of luxurious baths and polished dancing-floors, inhabited by princes who seem to have taken their pleasure in leading the life of luxurious ease’.[32]

Characterisations of Minoan dandies spread to new audiences through popular fiction.[33] Because Mary Renault is a favorite of the Minoan Brotherhood, I will share her characterisation of Knossian genders in *The King Must Die*. She includes love affairs among the female bull-leapers, who are alternatively mannish, Amazonian, and virginal in their

descriptions. But Renault is also clear in her depiction of male homosexuality as an effect of women's rule and 'strong mothers' – not only on Crete, but among pre-Greek populations on the mainland as well.[34] Her palace is full of painted, bedizened men full of 'airs and graces', sharing 'long Cretan glances'.[35] Her Theseus stands out among these 'fancy boys' (as the mainland hero calls them), adopting their ways only as a device to deceive his Minotaur. By this point of the 20th century, a gay subculture was developing – at least in certain contexts – and it clearly adapted past examples of same-sex activity to its own ideals of masculinity. New amalgamations of myth, archaeology, and religion could be rendered through idiosyncratic references to the broad range of art, fiction, and performance we describe as Cretomania.

The Minoan Brotherhood

The neo-pagan Minoan Brotherhood tradition represents a more complex invocation of Bronze Age Crete that developed out of traditional Welsh Wicca, or magical practices. Eddie Buczynski established the Minoan Brotherhood, and a parallel Minoan Sisterhood, in 1977 after several years of study and worship with pagan groups of the 'Gardnerian Tradition'.[36] The structure of belief and ritual in these groups revolve around a gender polarity, where male and female are co-equal, requiring a symmetrical balance of male and female elements – and the same gendered balance of ritual participants. The form of ritual that most popularly spread from the UK to the US in the late 1960s operated through a Welsh mythology – centred on the pair of the Horned God and Mother Goddess – and many participants adopted Celtic names for their own ritual identity. Buczynski took the craft name Hermes (and later Hermes Dionysos), and his interest in the ancient Mediterranean led him to explore revivals of ancient Egyptian religion alongside Gardnerian witchcraft.[37]

Buczynski's open homosexuality was an obstacle in some pagan circles, according to the biography by Michael Lloyd, but the tensions became unbearable when he sought to initiate his

same-sex partner into the Gardnerian coven – challenging the tradition of opposite sex initiation. Reflecting on his own dissatisfaction, Buczynski later wrote of his determination to

> find a pagan cult which would welcome me as I am – a proud gay man. I began to research ancient religions involving the worship of the Mother Goddess … Most of the pagan Mother Goddess cults of antiquity were overtly tolerant of homosexuals; most had a homosexual priesthood. But none seemed quite right. I continued my search. In 1973 I discovered the answer on an island in the Mediterranean: Crete.[38]

The 'Knossos Grove' was thus established in New York for a group of gay men interested in developing their own relationship with the Cretan Mother Goddess, with the intention of holding joint rites on occasion with the allfemale Minoan Sisterhood. While the Minoan Brotherhood has sustained for some 35 years, and current members all trace their mentorship through a lineage stemming from Buczynski, the Sisterhood does not have a continuous history through recent decades.[39]

The Minoan Brotherhood, like many other neo-pagan groups, accesses divine presence through ritual activity and erotic energy. Their spiritual focus is further materialised through cult objects based on Minoan art, including bull imagery and the double axe. Their negotiations with the Minoan past, however, are dependent upon cultural models from classical Greek culture of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, as well as larger understandings of sexual identity as not only consistent across Greek antiquity, but also universal and transhistorical. Thus, members of the Minoan Brotherhood cite the continuity of a special connection between Mother Goddess and gay priests, as represented by the cult of Phrygian Cybele lasting through Roman times,[40] and also associate other 'primitive' and 'tribal' cultures attested through ethnography.[41]

The content of their new Minoan faith draws directly on Evans's construction of Cretan religion, and also incorporates tenets that Buczynski developed. The Minoan Brotherhood worships the Great Mother Goddess by the name Rhea, who is characterised by five aspects, or 'emanations': earth, sea, sky, underworld, and as a prominently Minoan fifth, the 'Snake Goddess'. The aspects are represented by the pentacle (the five-pointed star) and articulated through identification with the deities of classical Greek religion. Thus, the 'Earth Mother' is the classical Greeks' Gaia, the underworld figure can be called Persephone, and the 'Sea Mother' is the 'Lady of Love' or Aphrodite. The Snake Goddess is a protective figure identified with Athena, just as the Sky Goddess is symbolized by the Moon and Artemis. Though he didn't programmatically name five goddesses, Arthur Evans did write of the 'varied aspects' of the Cretan goddess as 'celestial, terrestrial, or infernal', with citations of Greek divinities or his many more generic titles, such as 'Mistress of the Sea'.[42] Members of the Minoan Brotherhood identify with one particular emanation, which may be reflected in their own craft name, but they worship the goddess as the Great Mother Goddess, and they most often call her by the name 'Rhea'.

The larger theological structure specific to the Minoan Brotherhood developed out of intersections among dialogues in neo-pagan circles, the popular scholarship they drew on, and more creative depictions.[43] Like Buczynski, many members of the Minoan Brotherhood have also experienced more widespread forms of Wicca that include men and women. Various aspects of the Minoan Brotherhood continue Gardnerian practice,[44] but with a Minoan 'mythical overlay' (as described by one participant). This is evident in nomenclature: grades of initiation are distinguished between the Kouros and the Minos. Since the double axe is designated in Gardnerian practice as a cult instrument to be handled only by women, the Brotherhood takes up a ritual sword alongside a censer for sprinkling seawater and anointing oils.

Their lesser deity is the male figure, the Horned God envisioned as the Minotaur, and also known by the name Asterion.[45] Their *mythos* explains their own special relationship to the Goddess, and offers an explanation for homosexuality. The Minoan Brotherhood cites a 'Minoan legend' [sic!], according to which Asterion – the beautiful and *youthful* Minotaur – was to consort with no other female, because of the possessive jealousy of the Goddess, and thus became a patron of male homosexual love. While this *mythos* seems to be a relatively recent invention, there is an interesting precursor in a seal impression from Knossos that Evans described as a 'young Minotaur', even if the figure in question has no horns and, as Evans himself noticed, shows affinities with dog-headed Minoan imagery (Figure 8.2).[46] With the more expanded corpus of Minoan seal imagery now available, we better understand the variety of hybrid animal-human figures in Minoan art, and we can find a more clearly bull-headed human figure in works of the Late Minoan II–III periods.[47] Yet the Brotherhood does not seek this type of direct corroboration, since they have assembled their own collection of evidence and inspiration.

Conclusions

If we consider theories of gendered identity and interaction that began with Judith Butler's work on performance, it seems clear that the Minoan Brotherhood use the symbols of a Cretan past as a cultural marker to distinguish themselves against the heteronormativity of the larger neo-pagan society.[48] The remaining question is to determine if their visions and recreations can somehow inform our understanding of ancient performances of gender and sexuality. And as we take up those questions in a Bronze Age context, I think we are in a better position, having acknowledged the diverse sources and dialogues behind many lines of scholarly interpretation – and the neo-pagan discourse that it sometimes mirrors.

The Minoan Brotherhood's perspective further challenges us to consider gender and queerness in the archaeological record,

and not just through homoerotic readings of Minoan imagery. The development of individual and group identity through the exploration of spirituality and erotics within a marked group is a strong indication of the meaningful links between sexuality and other aspects of social relations. We should consider both the difficulties and rewards of mapping personal relations more broadly in the prehistoric context.[49] Future work should explore divergent readings of both the Cretan masculine and feminine that challenge heteronormative assumptions and look for a fuller range of interpersonal connections.

Notes

1 Christ 1987; Meskell 1998; Rountree 2002.

2 The group's basic information and a brief history are available at the website http://www.minoan-brotherhood.org (visited November 11, 2013).

3 Lloyd 2012. Broader explanations of diverse neo-pagan practices are found in Adler 2006.

4 On January 29, 1924, at the age of 73, Sir Arthur was arrested in Hyde Park with 17-year-old George Cook; both were charged with committing public indecency, and Evans paid a fee of £10 (see MacGillivray 2000, p. 281). Evans was named without his title, and identified only by his age and the address of a London hotel, in the brief report of the *London Times* ('Hyde Park Regulations,' 6 February 1924, p. 5, The Times Digital Archive, consulted on 11 November 2013). The story spread across the Commonwealth, however, with explicit references to Evans's archaeological fame, plus other details. The *Register* of Adelaide, South Africa, provided the further detail that 'Cook was seen lying on the grass' (7 February 1924, p. 7), whereas the *Daily News* of Perth claimed that 'Evans and Cook were seen lying on the grass' (6 February 1924, p. 8). The *Advocate* in Burnie, Tasmania, grandly distinguished Evans and greatly exaggerated the fee paid: 'Sir Arthur Evans, the distinguished archaeologist, who excavated the ruins of Knossos, in Crete, has been fined £100 for indecent behavior in Hyde Park …' (12 February 1924, p. 1).

5 Koehl 1986.

6 Aspects of this reception have also been treated by Ziolkowski 2008 and Gere 2009.

7 Evans 1921.

8 See MacGillivray 2000, pp. 169–193; see also discussions by Papadopoulos 2005, Momigliano 2006, La Rosa & Militello 2006.

9 Armstrong 2006.

10 Hall 1902, p. 393.

11 Pendlebury 1933, p. 27.

12 Eller 2012.

13 An early example of his drive to identify the 'Mother Goddess' on Crete is found in the publication of a simple lead figurine as an example of the 'influence of the Babylonian type … if we might accept the genuineness' of the artefact and its alleged find-spot near Herakleion (Evans 1895, pp. 132–134). Evans expressed some doubt about the figure's antiquity – wondering if a dealer had cast it from an ancient mold – but he would outgrow such skepticism for unprovenanced antiquities.

14 Bachofen 1861, pp. 36–38, detail a Cretan promotion of Rhea over a mortal Zeus and the solar aspect of Pasiphae; cf. Davies 2010, pp. 97–98. Frazer 1911 is especially pertinent to the link between mythological dynamics and living societies.

15 Evans 1901a, p. iv.

16 Evans 1901a, p. 53.

17 Evans 1901a, p. 70.

18 Cf. Cook 1914.

19 Numerous examples are fully discussed by Lapatin 2002 and also well considered by Morris 2006; Evans's own involvement is narrated by MacGillivray 2000, pp. 282–284.

20 Evans 1930, p. 438.

21 Evans 1930, pp. 452–457.

22 Evans 1901b, p. 124.

23 Though he noted the Egyptian precedent for skin tones, his descriptions of gendered representations betray a distinctly literal point of view in reading the images of 'ladies with white complexions – due, we may fancy, to the seclusion of harem life' Evans 1901b, p. 125.

24 A transcription of Evans's writings of 5 April 1900 is presented in MacGillivray 2000, pp. 178–179. He also published a sketch of 'the Ariadne' from Evans's 1900 notebook (between pp. 184 and 185).

25 For discussions of gender in Minoan arts and significant deviations from binary systems, see Hitchcock 2000 and Alberti 2001.

26 Myres 1950.

27 Abrahams 1908, p. 12.

28 Holliday 1933, pp. 31–33.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Mead 1935, pp. 54, 248.

31 Hawes & Hawes 1909, p. 27.

32 Hall 1902, p. 393.

33 See also Roessel 2006.

34 Renault 1958, p. 81.

35 Renault 1958, p. 210 ff.

36 On Buczynski's life and work, see Lloyd 2012. On the neo-pagan tradition stemming from Gerald Gardner, see Adler 2006.

37 Lloyd 2012, pp. 295–320.

38 Lloyd 2012, p. 383.

39 There are certainly female groups focused on Minoan Crete. Hundreds of women have toured Crete with the thealogical scholar Carol Christ, who writes about individual discoveries and transformations fostered by the syncretic rituals they enact at sanctuaries and cave sites (Christ 1987).

40 This echoes the Phrygian connection made by Evans and many of the Cambridge Ritualists, well exemplified by Frazer 1914, pp. 269–270, 289–299.

41 Connor 1993.

42 Evans 1930, p. 457.

43 See Lloyd 2012, pp. 383–402.

44 Graves 1948, pp. 32–54, bolsters these associations by reconstructing the origins of the Welsh paganism in prehistoric Britain and suggesting that it received the 'Aegean Mother-and-Son religious tradition'.

45 This name is given to the Minotaur by Apollodorus (Library 3.1.4), though it is more widespread in ancient sources as the name of the earlier Cretan king who weds Europa and raises her three sons by Zeus.

46 Evans 1928, p. 763, fig. 491; cf. Harrison 1903, pp. 482–483.

47 Krzyszkowska 2005, pp. 201, 207; Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2010.

48 Butler 1990.

49 Consider the theoretical reviews of Voss 2009 and Alberti 2012.

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PART III

Cretomania in literature – dialogues with Rhea Galanaki

Chapter 9

Minoans and the postmodern critique of national history: two novels by Rhea Galanaki

Roderick Beaton

Rhea Galanaki is one of the foremost novelists of Greece today. She is also a Cretan, much of her work is set in Crete, and she explores the troubled and distinct identity of the 'Great Island'. There is no one better placed, in the world of contemporary Greek letters, to reflect on the subject of 'Cretomania'.

Her first novel, *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* (1989), was a literary sensation in Greece at the time and remains one of the most discussed works of fiction of that extraordinary decade. Not only does Greek postmodernism (traceable back to the beginning of the 1970s in the early work of Nasos Vayenas and others, including Galanaki herself) achieve a new sophistication in this work, but the Greek historical novel is also re-invented in such a way as to mount a direct challenge to the standard historiography of Modern Greece. The Cretan hero is born into a Christian family, baptised and brought up till the age of five as a Christian. Taken prisoner by the Egyptians during the 1821 Revolution, he becomes a Muslim and a general in the Ottoman forces. In this guise, he returns to his native island – as a foreigner and a conqueror – many years later. Ismail Ferik Pasha is at once traitor and hero. He has to live with two identities: one Christian, Greek and identified with his native place; the other Ottoman and Muslim. And he resists, to the end, having to choose between them.

I have written about Ismail Ferik Pasha elsewhere.[1] Though Galanaki's novel is very much about Crete, specific references to Minoans are not very many, even if they are important. In

this chapter, I begin by focussing specifically on those fleeting, but telling, allusions to the Minoan past and with what I believe to be their significance for this remarkable postmodern novel. Then I turn in more detail to discuss the fourth novel by Galanaki, *The Century of Labyrinths* (2002). In this novel, the modern experience of rediscovering the long-lost civilisation of the Minoans turns out to be central; and its themes, I suggest, are therefore central, also, to a volume on 'Cretomania'.

Minoan civilisation in *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha*

In Galanaki's first novel, the identification between the hero and his homeland, in the manner of, say, Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, is not stated outright. But there are indications that Ismail is to be considered as an extension of his native Crete, as Rushdie's hero Saleem is of India. In the scene inside a cave on the Lasithi plateau with which the novel opens, the five-year-old boy remembers terrible tales told to him by his parents about 'the redness of a primeval birth'.[2] In his terrified state, he relives those stories until the time comes for him to emerge once more into the daylight. This emergence is portrayed ever afterwards, whenever it is mentioned later in the novel, as a 'second birth' that inaugurates the hero's second life as an Ottoman in Egypt. An observant reader will notice that the hiding place of the Christian fugitives in 1823 is none other than the Dictaean Cave, legendary birthplace of Zeus. The hero, we are given to understand, has been baptised with the name 'Emmanuel', so when his mother screeches his name from the mouth of the cave (no doubt in the 'demotic' form, Manolis – we are not told), the name that echoes through the cave is one of the Biblical titles of the Christian God (Christ Emmanuel).[3] A different god, according to some versions of ancient Greek mythology, had been born in these spaces – and his mother was called Rhea. In this way the author, Rhea Galanaki, gives birth to her hero for a second time within the postmodern text.

In this 'second life', the hero is brought up as a Muslim with the name Ismail, a close equivalent of Emmanuel, as it means

'God has heard' or 'God will hear' (referring to Abraham's prayer for a son).[4] In his new identity as Ismail, when he returns to Crete many years later to quell the rebellion of his former compatriots (1866–68), he will find himself confronted by the ghost of his former self in the form of a young boy. This ghost then disappears quickly: 'to celebrate with his family the Easter of the Hellenes'.[5] This phrase alludes to the title of the long poem published by Angelos Sikelianos in 1928, which explores a syncretism between Christianity and ancient Greek religion. Then, in the final chapter of the second section of the novel (where the hero narrates his own story), he returns to his empty family home and communicates with his dead relatives in the same way that Homer's Odysseus did in the underworld.

These all add up to good grounds for supposing that Emmanuel/Ismail represents the collective identity of his Cretan compatriots. Support for this identification comes also from the detail of the knife that the hero discovers in the cave in the opening chapter, and with which he will eventually kill himself (according to the last of the three different versions of his death in the closing section of the novel). This knife is described on its first appearance as 'a corroded green blade, whose shape did not remind him of any type of Christian or Arabian knife'.[6] The colour reveals at once that the unfamiliar object must be made of bronze. The reader, with the benefit of historical hindsight, can recognise something that the hero (who died in 1867) could never have known: that this knife is an archaeological find belonging to the Bronze Age civilisation we know today as 'Minoan'. Prompted by an unexplained instinct, the later Ottoman pasha 'never removed this blade from the inside of his embroidered robes', keeping it close, as a talisman, throughout the rest of his life. For the reader, too, this knife comes to symbolise the indissoluble link between the Ottoman pasha and his Cretan origins – irrespective of the hero's own wishes.

From this point on, according to a phrase repeated with the frequency of a refrain throughout the novel, his life is 'determined in the orbit of knives'. The fatal consequence, as

we learn only on the novel's final page, is the conclusion: 'there does not exist, nor has ever existed, anything so innocent as to be lost. Therefore, … there does not exist, nor has ever existed, such a thing as return'.[7]

This conclusion overturns not only the ancient myth of nostos, but also the modern 'national myth' of the regeneration (*παλιγγενεσία*) of an ancient Greek nation. The hero never ceases to be a Cretan, no matter what he does in his 'other' life as an Ottoman. But this representative of Cretan autochthony can never cancel out, either, any part of a subsequent biography that is incompatible with that starting point. The 'return' (or nostos) that is shown finally to be unachievable, just like the nostalgia that longs for it, becomes destructive, not only for the individual (Emmanuel/Ismail) but also, by extension, for the whole Modern Greek nation. The Cretan (and Christian) Emmanuel is also the Muslim Ismail, with his Ottoman rank and honours. Just as nothing of the hero's Ottoman identity can be expunged, so it must be supposed that nothing of the Ottoman period of Greek history can (or should, perhaps) be expunged either. Through deft use of the techniques of 1980s postmodernism, *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha*, in narrating the 'myth' of an individual hero, places in doubt the established historiography of the entire nation to which that hero belongs.

The multiple Labyrinths of the 20th century

Galanaki's fourth novel, *The Century of Labyrinths*, published in 2002, has this in common with a foundational text of global postmodernism, *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Gabriel García Márquez: it tells the hundred-year-long story of two provincial families living in the writer's native country. In the case of Galanaki's novel, the setting is Crete, with a focus on her own native town of Herakleion. The 'century' of the title begins in 1878, the year of the first excavations at Knossos by the appropriately named Minos Kalokairinos. Several of the characters are real, historical figures, including Kalokairinos, other members of this prominent Herakleion family, and the

schoolteacher who assisted in those early excavations. Others are fictional, chief among them the schoolteacher's two sons, who will later become the central characters of the novel.

The action takes in that initial discovery of the civilisation that would soon come to be known as 'Minoan', then moves to the violent events of 25 August/5 September 1898, in which many prominent Christian Cretans in Herakleion lost their lives, and the Kalokairinos mansion was ransacked, with the loss of many Minoan artefacts. Thereafter the story moves to the next generation and the fictional brothers Andreas and Sifis: contrasting characters who each take an active part in the historical events of the first half of the 20th century, down to the 1970s. Sifis, a left-wing idealist, is murdered in unexplained circumstances in 1952; it is implied that this had something to do with the aftermath of the World War II resistance and subsequent Greek civil war of 1946–49. Andreas is a teacher, like his father, and will grow old peacefully – finally attempting, with the aid of his niece Ariadne, to follow the thread and unravel the tangled web that is the 'century of labyrinths'. These labyrinths turn out to be multiple and various.

The name of the niece is obviously not accidental. Neither is her profession – she is an archaeologist. Towards the end of the book, the uncle who had been responsible for her baptismal name explains to the now middle-aged archaeologist the reasons that had led him to choose the name. These have not so much to do with finding the way out of any particular symbolic labyrinth, but rather with the obsessive idea that Andreas has never given up: Skevo, the young daughter of Minos Kalokairinos, he believes, could have survived the massacre of 1898 and gone on to live (rather like Emmanuel/Ismail Ferik Pasha) another life somewhere in the Muslim world. Skevo had been in the house on that fateful 25 August. Her body was never found, nor was she ever heard of again (this much is historical fact). Ever since, Andreas has nurtured the idea that Skevo may still be alive. This story, and

its hypothetical continuation, has come to function, for Andreas, as a modern myth. He confesses to Ariadne:

> It was for Skevo's sake that I named you Ariadne.... The mythical Ariadne was linked, as a prehistoric vegetation goddess, with long periods of disappearance before each of her reappearances, just like Persephone. Just like the disappearance of Skevo, I used to tell myself back then, so long ago that I've the feeling that I'm no longer the same person who said it, so much did I wish for Skevo to have survived and to reappear like a shooting star in her native city, turning up from who knows what harem – or underworld, even.[8]

Ariadne, the recipient of this confession, seems to be set up as an avatar of both the Ariadne of later Greek mythology and the primeval, archetypal Goddess of the Minoans, as popularly imagined in the wake of Evans's interpretations of his discoveries at Knossos. Another episode of the novel implies that the worship of this 'Mother Goddess' may still linger beneath the Christian practices of a nunnery in Crete, where Andreas goes in his interminable search for the lost Skevo.[9]

The labyrinth, as a symbol, is among the most widely diffused in world literature. According to Margaret Anne Doody, it makes up one of the archetypal 'tropes' that define the entire genre of the novel, at least in its modern guise.[10] This is perhaps an exaggeration, but Doody does offer plenty of examples that would seem to confirm the multifarious potency of the symbol, especially in modernist and postmodernist writing. Galanaki's fourth novel certainly explores this 'trope' to its furthest possible extent.

Often, in this novel, the labyrinth functions as a way of describing a real space. The 'dungeons' inside the old Venetian walls of Herakleion are often described as labyrinths; so are the town's winding alleyways.[11] Elsewhere, the meaning becomes more metaphorical. History itself is described as a labyrinth ('a

labyrinth of centuries').[12] Then there is the 'labyrinth' of the inner ear.[13] Metaphorical, again, are the 'feelings and colours that belonged to the labyrinth of living beings'.[14] Elsewhere the labyrinth is identified with life,[15] with war,[16] with music,[17] with nature and with writing,[18] even with human existence ('In every life, I mean in every human labyrinth'),[19] while the city of Athens is described at one point as 'the biggest labyrinth in the country'.[20]

Above all the other labyrinths, literal and metaphorical, looms the Labyrinth of Knossos, which is both literally present as an archaeological site and a metaphor drawn from the ancient myth.[21] The final appearance of the symbol is more down to earth. The story ends with a conversation that takes place in a seaside hotel in Crete, whose owner had decided, 'after any number of hesitations and changes of mind' (labyrinthine characteristics, too), to call 'The Labyrinth'.[22]

This assimilation of a Minoan heritage that (at least according to Evans's influential interpretations) was alien to the linguistic or cultural traditions of later Hellenism perhaps echoes this writer's ecumenical acceptance of a non-Helleno-Christian, Ottoman past for her native island in *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha*. In the earlier novel, the two heritages never coalesced; the Christian and Ottoman pasts existed simultaneously, embodied even in the same individual, but irreconcilable. In *The Century of Labyrinths*, something like the nostos that had been denied to Ismail Ferik is granted to the elderly Andreas. There is an Ariadne thread that weaves its way through the centuries, and at the end of more than three millennia, reconciles cultural differences that, in their time, may have been just as irreconcilable as those between Christian Greeks and Ottoman Muslims. This is the imaginative thread that links the rituals of the Bronze Age with the worship of Aphrodite and Hermes in the same place during classical times, as well as with the multifarious 'labyrinths'

that have defined the lives of the Cretan families during the more recent century covered by the story.

Towards the end, Ariadne the archaeologist goes with her eighty-year-old uncle to visit a site that can be identified with the multi-period sanctuary at Kato Symi near Viannos, though it is not named in the novel. Summer is ending, and all around them are sheep and goats grazing. Ariadne muses:

> It's as though not a single day has passed since then, Uncle, even if it's been four thousand years. Animals just like those – sheep and goats, I mean – the Minoans used to sacrifice to the prehistoric goddess of nature and her young lover on their outdoor tables. Hunters, rich herdsmen, youths undergoing initiation into adult life. The practice lasted into classical times, but then the sacrifices were for Hermes of the trees and fertile Aphrodite, the divine pair that had replaced the Minoan deities.[23]

Conclusions

In their use of myth and repeated allusions to the distant Minoan civilisation of Crete, these two novels mark a shift from the radical undermining of traditional historiography in *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* to its apparent vindication in *The Century of Labyrinths*. It would appear that Galanaki moves from the experimental and the subversive towards a more traditional form of realism. On the other hand, in the later novel, the role given to the myth of the labyrinth, and the multiplication of the symbolic fields of reference of the symbol, go far beyond the surface realism of the text. As a result, the superficial affirmation of an indigenous, diachronic Cretan culture is placed, in exemplary postmodern fashion, under question. In this way, the ideology of an indigenous culture and historical continuity between epochs turns out to be still problematic after all. Just as the true fate of the vanished Skevo can never be determined, so the later heritages of Minoan civilisation, of classical antiquity, or even of real personages of the 20th century will remain forever suppositions, perhaps no

better than Andreas' fantasies about Skevo – in any case, impossible ever to verify. At the end of the story, we never learn what really did happen to Skevo. Most probably she was killed in the violence of 1898, but neither we nor the characters ever know for sure. In the same way, we never discover who murdered Andreas' brother Sifis, or for what motive. There are hints that it had to do with the Greek civil war, with the victim's political sympathies, and the dark Cretan custom of vengeance-killing. But nothing more.

By the end of the novel, the mythical labyrinth has multiplied to an extraordinary extent. The mythical 'thread' has become inextricably entangled, without beginning or end. Collective identity has become itself another myth, a more or less well-intentioned attempt at self-definition, in a world where nothing can be determined with certainty. The story closes with the image of the thread extending indefinitely towards an unknown future:

> A little later, upon the line of the horizon, a pink line began to unfold the thread of a still-unexplored dawn.
>
> The thread of a still-unexplored century.[24]

Notes

1 Beaton 1999, pp. 288–289, 291–293; 2006, pp. 190–191.

2 Galanaki 1989, p. 16. All translations from Greek in this chapter are my own.

3 Galanaki 1989, p. 14. On the presumed Christian name of the real historical figure, see ibid. (author's note).

4 I am grateful to Nicoletta Momigliano for alerting me to this link between the hero's two given names, the one Christian, the other Muslim.

5 Galanaki 1989, p. 146.

6 Galanaki 1989, p. 16.

7 Galanaki 1989, p. 197.

8 Galanaki 2002, p. 342 and cf. pp. 59–60.

9 Galanaki 2002, pp. 251–267.

10 See, e.g. Doody 1996, pp. 346–361.

11 Galanaki 2002, pp. 45, 46, 50, 53, 79, 88, 95, 117, 128, 246, 269, 281, 351, 358.

12 Galanaki 2002, p. 54.

13 Galanaki 2002, p. 77.

14 Galanaki 2002, p. 110.

15 Galanaki 2002, pp. 120, 122, 159, 180.

16 Galanaki 2002, pp. 141, 150.

17 Galanaki 2002, p. 189.

18 Galanaki 2002, pp. 236, 283.

19 Galanaki 2002, p. 270, 293.

20 Galanaki 2002, pp. 351.

21 Galanaki 2002, pp. 340, 343.

22 Galanaki 2002, pp. 360–361.

23 Galanaki 2002, p. 325.

24 Galanaki 2002, p. 387.

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Chapter 10

Rhea Galanaki's *The Century of Labyrinths*: a dialogue between literature and archaeology that starts with Minos Kalokairinos[1]

Katerina Kopaka

For Martha Olympia Aposkitou-Alexiou
Μνήμης χάριν

An archaeological discovery, even a modest one, carries, potentially, an important fictional dimension. Indeed, in their effort to reverse the course of time, archaeologists explore, uncover, reconstruct and 'animate' – as a rule, prudently – locales, objects and other material traces of past lives and actions in which they did not participate. Thus, they inevitably interweave into this complex process their own experiences, perceptions, ideological beliefs and world views. To conform, however, to a scientific approach, they have to rein in their imagination, censure their certainties, and control the interplay between the deficient data and their own interpretative hypotheses. The archaeologist's responsibility seems to stop where the artist's creative licence begins. To compose a 'history of the history' of a discovery, the scholar needs distance from the archaeological find; but a writer of fiction is freer to embrace, shape and transform the story following her/his own inspiration, feelings, intellect, education and culture.

The Century of Labyrinths by Rhea Galanaki combines an archaeological exploration with a literary narrative. Inspired by Minos Kalokairinos, her story is built around his early excavation at Knossos, and follows over the course of a century the life paths of its Cretan foreman, the schoolmaster Christos Papaoulakis, and his family. In this, the book communicates

somehow with my own research interests, thus justifying my participation in the present dialogue.[2]

Indeed, during the years of my research on Kalokairinos and his Knossian experience,[3] I often felt the need to rise above the limits of archaeological discourse: to fill out, sometimes even intuitively, the little that I consider I know in reality about this excavator and his excavation. What did he do the night before? Did he get a wink of sleep? What was he thinking, I wonder, on the road to the Kefala hill? What weather did he encounter during the dig – what winds, what dawns, what sunsets? Did he believe in omens? And if so, what signs did he get on his first day in the field – and on the last? What did the workmen think of him? How did he come to choose Papaoulakis to be his foreman? And did they get on well together? How did he acquire and live out his passion for classical literature and antiquity, and what impact would it have had on his life? What did his relatives and contemporaries think about his excavation at Knossos? And how did later generations take it? Did they respect it and remember it, or did they ignore it and forget it, especially after Arthur Evans's brilliant discoveries?

Rhea Galanaki starts by posing such questions; and with her own tools, which I find magical, she answers many of them too. Thus, she brings the archaeological and the fictional sides of Kalokairinos's excavation skilfully and sensitively into a universe of reciprocity – we could say on a very special interdisciplinary journey that is almost an anti-journey. She does not follow, for example, any 'sacred monster' in archaeology nor some famous exploration, but the neglected figure of Kalokairinos and his small – but *first* – excavation in the Palace of Knossos. She does not target some mythical, be it ancient or new, Minotaur, but wanders for a century in the metaphorical twists and turns of the labyrinth, the structure emblematically connected with that legendary creature.

The Century and the Labyrinths

' "[If everything is ready], then we start at dawn", the excavator says quietly to his foreman.' However, 'when does a

century really begin and end?' someone else wonders – sensibly – later on in the book.[4]

The *century* that the book tracks does last a hundred years, but it has no conventional calendar beginning or end. It starts with Kalokairinos's excavation at Knossos in 1878–79 and closes in 1978, a little after a visit to another Cretan excavation, at Symi near Viannos. Since, as the author stresses, "a homeland always needs its past." Absolute dating apart, this is truly a long and an important century, as is every century when computed by the human units of measurement: individuals and generations.

The three generations of the family of schoolmaster Papaoulakis do not command those strong attributes that guarantee them central social roles. But it is they who experience, narrate and tie together the stories in the spatial and temporal labyrinths of the book – perhaps because they represent the simple but literate world of Crete which, though not in the forefront, was in fact closely involved in implementing the island's strategic and tactical designs in the course of the century.

Choosing the Papaoulakis family is a very successful idea of Galanaki's. If we accept the analogy, it recalls Daedalus, the mythical instigator and maker of the labyrinth: when, in Sicily, he 'harnessed' an ant and let it draw a thread from the mouth to the far tip of a marine conch shell, running unerringly through the internal coils of the shell. In this simple way, he solved the riddle of the labyrinth – and so himself brought down his own ingenious construction.

The labyrinth is the canvas and the pattern, the warp and the weft of the book. It refers conceptually to material and symbolic encodings in nature and culture – which, whether obvious, allusive or latent, are always curved and tortuous. These would touch on, for example:

The physical labyrinths of the senses: the labyrinth of the ear, which brings vertigo as a bad message and nostalgia as a good one; or that of a "scent of cinnamon or rose" (the scent of

the lost Skevo Kalokairinou) in the mountain villages of Albania and the towns of Macedonia and Crete …

The unforeseen labyrinths of the emotions: the labyrinths of love, passion, anger, hope, grief and mourning; or those of the crosses of martyrdom that people, nations and folks are ordained to carry in their historical trajectories …

The abstract labyrinths of communication and continuity: the labyrinths of music, dance, numbers, and letters; or those of memory and oblivion – and thus somehow of archaeological stratigraphies…

The empirical labyrinths of structured and unstructured space: the labyrinths of caves and the marine world; or of the ancient buildings and quarries of Knossos, and the *mahalas* and subterranean galleries in the old city of Herakleion …

And principally the perpetual labyrinths of time, with its cyclical flows and junctions: the labyrinths of the personal rites of passage in life – birth, baptism, marriage … death – and those recurrent collective ones of social groups and generations, down the decades, centuries and millennia.

Without doubt, Galanaki's book offers a dynamic typology of labyrinths. And as with the labyrinth, each clue leads the reader to follow the steps in the plot, and the knots in the tested threads of memory – and in those of human destinies. In Galanaki's story, the thread is artfully never lost.

It is often a human thread: the schoolmaster (Christos the father and also the son, Andreas Papaoulakis – and, with them, one could say, our own teachers, Nikos Kazantzakis, Menelaos Parlamas and others); and the archaeologist-excavator (Kalokairinos and Evans, let alone Stefanos Xanthoudides, Spyridon Marinatos, Nikolaos Platon, Stylianos Alexiou, Angeliki Lebessi …); or, simply, a Cretan or gypsy musician (Rodinos, Baxevanis, Bazil Dan …); and certainly the woman who conceives, carries and gives birth, extending to infinity the entrances and turns in the labyrinths of the centuries.

Sometimes too, a thread is an artefact, a newspaper or a device, like the photographer's lens of Behaeddin, Lambrinidis or Stella; and, very often, a clock, from the merciless one in the cathedral of Ayios Minas, tolling relentlessly in the reader's ear and mind, to the one of the Zenith brand, or a Swiss clock with ornamental cupids in the late Western fashion. The clock measures times and events, keeps and corrects the rhythms of life, and reminds one of breaks, whether daily or ceremonial, as on the First of the Month, New Year's Day, Fat Thursday, and Easter ….

Between the lines, one feels, too, a constant game of 'in' and 'out of' the labyrinth, a counterpoint of worlds of 'inside' and 'outside': of the boundaries of an excavation, the city walls, fields and olive groves; but also of all the land of Crete, and of 'the leash of the Ottoman Empire'; and even those of knowledge and ignorance ('Who defines the sharing of knowledge and ignorance?'[5]). The 'out' is usually experience and freedom, but also a threat and certainly a risk … one mainly of not being able to recapture, when needed, the thread of 'within' from the beginning.

The Mediterranean *longue durée*

A thorough reading of Galanaki's book leads to deeper meanings, some of them familiar to me from my own researches. Some relate to the factual story. In particular, it was unexpected luck for me to rediscover, and review, Kalokairinos and the world of his excavation at Knossos through another, this time fictional, view of them, with the powerful writing that, I think, suits them so well. But beyond the facts, the real or imagined characters, and the historical circumstances in and outside Crete, I found myself suddenly in a sea of associated memories – pieces of the mosaic that I comprehend as the 'cultural palimpsest' of the Mediterranean.

It is a Mediterranean of the *longue durée*, as its ideal student Fernand Braudel expressed it. The Mediterranean homeland of exchanges and bargains, of giving gifts and receiving them in return: see, for instance, the conversation with Kazantzakis in

Andreas Papaoulakis's dream. A place of noble but tough merchants and diplomats/dealers: on the very first page of the book, a mare is exchanged for 'a boatload of sweet-smelling soap'. Where letters are knowledge, an ancient and august knowledge, if often heretical, tendentious or profit-chasing, that helps with the accounts, and with antiquarianism with its undertones of expediency – and supports class, national or other political arguments, preconceptions and claims.

In the Mediterranean, the official interlocutors are men: men who, as a rule, have had a difficult adolescence, an immature middle age and, sometimes, a calmer old age. But the invisible 'leaders' are usually of the female gender – from Margiora Krasaki and Skevo Kalokairinou to Aneza Papaoulaki, Marigo Chaireti and the younger women in their family: women-wives and sisters and, above all, women-mothers. Mothers who raise their sons and, with them their husbands, recalling primeval myths about the founding goddesses of the cosmogony who triggered the birth of the universe, and great prehistoric Mother Goddesses, with their young male escorts. It is women par excellence who collect, share, transmit and guard – but also subvert–relationships, beliefs, attitudes and ways of behaviour that are incorporated into indomitable ethical codes, such as those of honour, and even revenge and vendetta, and governed by perennial, secret, regimes of judgement, conviction and acquittal. Thus, women teach a core knowledge that circulates with speed and punctuality along long-lasting sea and land routes, fooling space and time, before it arrives to be fossilised in the thick layers of Mediterranean cultures, and in the psyches of the people and their communities.

From El Greco's *Burial of the Count of Orgaz* to Kazantzakis's funeral in Irakleio in the late 1950s, and from Skevo of Lysimachos to Skevo of Sifis many decades later, one sometimes gets the impression that it is mainly the exterior garments that change, while the basic frameworks and representations continue to live in the imagination: in landscapes of vineyards, vintages and red wine, the cleanliness of green olive-oil soap; in 'girdled storage jars' (*ζωναράτα*

πιθάρια) which cover millennia from prehistoric Knossos to the Monastery of Our Lady of the Partridge (*της Παναγιάς της Πέρδικας*) at Viannos, painted octopuses that are alive, hear and judge, and embroidered swallows that are let free to fly, bad-tempered camels, and beautiful – almost totemic – horse badges; and all in the gaze of one man, Federico Halbherr, which is as bright and sharp as obsidian, that invaluable first commodity of the remote cultures of the Stone Age.

One can easily forget in such nostalgic flashbacks that war has long been 'a just position' in the Mediterranean, a hideous sequence of conflicts, massacres, looting, kidnappings, taking prisoners, and lost homelands, as at Smyrna, and, even more dreadful, civil tearings-apart, and exile, to Gavdos, Makronisos, Ai-Stratis … with only fleeting truces, until the next fight comes, the next violent breaking of the balance. In the human landscape of the Mediterranean, as Galanaki's book reminds us, few give warning, few forget and forgive – perhaps only some saints that could absolve even the women who forsook their Christian faith, when they later repent.

This, I think, is what Rhea Galanaki achieves above and beyond everything else. Through her historical-experiential narrative, she involves us, almost psychoanalytically, and draws us into our familiar Cretan and Mediterranean labyrinths. The labyrinths of a century whose true duration we, in reality, do not know (and rightly so), and in which – as always happens – 'no one knows' in fact 'the invisible truth of anyone.' However, in these labyrinthine paths, we can recognise critical pieces of our own identity, even if it is just by looking back at some scenes of our past life in an old neighbourhood of Herakleion – at Ayios Mathaios … – or in a class at the 'Lykeion o Korais'; or by calling up the gentle sculpting of the Kairatos valley at Knossos, and the smell of the earth after spring rain on the Kefala hill, with its famous remains of the 'Palace of Minos'. There, perhaps, Minos Kalokairinos and Arthur Evans are still 'alive' – who can know, who can tell in the *longue* Mediterranean *durée*?

Instead of an epilogue: Kalokairinos and 'Cretomania'

With *The Century of Labyrinths*, Kalokairinos and his excavation at Knossos can be enlisted into a chapter of *Cretomania* as thoughtfully promoted by this scholarly volume of ours: namely, one on the reception and response accorded to the Minoan material culture by the generations that followed its discovery, and the influences that it exerted – and still exerts – on arts and letters and other fields of human creation. And these are not the only pages in this particular chapter. The same theme and the same protagonists have inspired another serious artistic composition: Marielli Sfakianaki's opera *Minos* of 1989.[6]

If still brief, the Kalokairinos chapter in *Cretomania* is, I think, significant[7] since it matches the 'entry into the labyrinth' of Minoan material culture, already in the period before Evans. It may not include such impressive artefacts as those that then 'emerged' from Knossos, Phaistos, Gournia and Palaikastro … and enchanted the Western world.

But it does focus on a leader of the *topoi* of Crete and Knossos in the late 19th century, a bourgeois entrepreneur and idiosyncratic intellectual, and a 'passionate lover of things ancient',[8] especially Knossian ones; and tells, if with some delay, of Kalokairinos's bold quantum leap (by any standards) that led him to prehistoric Knossos two decades before Evans. Guided by the clue of his intense belief in his namesake King Minos, he located, identified and began to reveal his king's 'Palace or Royal Hall' ('Megaron') on the hitherto insignificant hill called then by a name from another age, *tou Tselebi i Kefala (Του Τσελεμπή η Κεφάλα)*. Thus, he prescribed the course of Cretan archaeology for the centuries to come.

It remains, perhaps, to ask ourselves, albeit rhetorically, why, in this present age, Kalokairinos seems to have appealed first to women's narratives in scholarship and art, with Aposkitou, Galanaki and Sfakianaki. Is it their Cretan, Herakleiot

'genome', their common perceptions, their real or imagined experiences of life near the archetypal Labyrinth of Knossos (their 'personal archaeologies', as Galanaki aptly calls them),[9] with their deep levels of childhood and youth which, as adults, we usually protect from 'taphonomic' corrosion, while drawing from them clues and strength for our subsequent paths in life?

Should we also take into account in our answers the significant share of responsibility for the preservation of memory that falls to women in Mediterranean relationships? That quality which impels them to protect and reinstate the history and rights of the members of their family, their kin and their wider social groups? If so, should not Minoan Knossos start with Kalokairinos?

tn this way one can understand, in the last pages of Galanaki's book, the anger of young Ariadni (!), who represents the third, and is carrying the fourth, generation of the Papaoulakides, when her uncle Andreas admits that he has now forgotten what he heard about the excavation at Knossos from his godfather Kalokairinos and his father Christos. It was these Knossian memories, however, that must have influenced her own decision to become an archaeologist, perhaps precisely so as to solve past riddles and stand against any collective oblivion; and to manage to recount, in her turn, the visions and experiences, losses and gains of the previous Century of the Labyrinths on into the next – undoubtedly also long and resourceful – century.

Notes

1 My thanks go to Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnoux for inviting me to their innovative meeting on Cretomania. In a previous form in Greek, this text was written for my presentation at the launch of *O Αιώνας των Λαβυρίνθων* (*The Century of Labyrinths*) in Herakleion on 3 December 2002, and published later in *Avtí* magazine (779 [2003] 51–3). I am grateful to Don Evely for undertaking the difficult English translation, and to Gerald Cadogan, as always, for his invaluable comments.

2 In the late 1980s, the composer and writer Marielli Sfakianaki, great-granddaughter of Minos Kalokairinos, gave the Vikelaia Municipal Library in Herakleion a family heirloom, which then belonged to her and her brother Minas Sfakianakis: the handwritten draft of a report in French by her great-grandfather on his excavation at Knossos (1878–79) that led him to identify, and

partly uncover, the Minoan palace there. This precious document was entrusted to me in 1987 by the late Nikos Giannadakis, Ephor of the Vikelaia, triggering my research into Kalokairinos's life, personality and work, initially through a research project of the University of Crete on the beginnings of Cretan archaeology in the 19th century. That was a time when local antiquities formed the foundations for the creation of a collective awareness among the intellectuals of the island who, like Kalokairinos, sought for – and projected into the past – evidence of their national identity.

3 Which Martha Aposkitou was the first to recall and discuss, exactly a century later (Aposkitou 1979). See also Kalokairinos 1906–07 (the chapters on Knossos are reproduced in Kopaka 1989/1990, pp. 25–59); and Kopaka 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 2004, 2015.

4 G alanaki 2002.

5 *Ibid.*

6 For Sfakianaki, see note 2 above. Part of this opera, called 'Invocazione di Ariadne', was transcribed for soprano and string orchestra and performed at the Megaro Mousikis in Athens in 2006, under the direction of Thodoros Antoniou, and again in Bari in 2012, with the Euroorchestra under Francesco Lentini and Victoria Manolidou as the soprano. The whole opera and the excerpt can be found in the Lilian Voudouri Music Library of the Megaro Mousikis.

7 As is shown also by the rapid integration of *The Century of Labyrinths* into recent scholarly literature, both archaeological and philological. See, e.g. Papadopoulos 2005, p. 95; Beaton 2006, pp. 192–193, and Chapter 9 in this volume; D'Agata 2010, pp. 66–67; Cadogan 2012, pp. 91–92.

8 I quote L. Mariani's expression, 'l'appassionato amatore di cose antiche sig. Minos A. Kalokairinos' (Mariani 1895, p. 225).

9 Galanaki, Chapter 11 in this volume, and her article in *To Βήμα* (15 December 2013).

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Chapter 11

Growing up next door to Knossos and 'the other Ariadne'[1]

Rhea Galanaki

In memory of the archaeologists
Stylianos Alexiou and Yannis Sakellarakis,
interlocutors and friends

I was born in Herakleion and lived there continuously from my birth in 1947 until 1965, when I left to study History and Archaeology at the University of Athens. I have never stopped going back, even if only for short periods, and so I have built up over time a palimpsest of impressions and feelings about my native place.

So it came about that I grew up next door to Knossos, next door to the most famous, if not also the most important, excavated palace of Minoan civilisation. This proximity need not have had the slightest significance. In my own case, that is to say, the case of someone who would go on to become a writer, it seems that it acquired a deeper, and still, today, inexhaustible meaning. Roderick Beaton, Professor of Modern Greek literature at King's College London, in Chapter 9 of this volume uncovers its traces in some of my novels. I draw attention to the fact that he, too, is a writer, with the novel *Ariadne's Children* (1995) to his credit – a book based around the enigmatic figure of Arthur Evans and the recent history of Crete.

To the extent that a writer may be permitted a more personal approach, I shall endeavour here to pinpoint some additional traces. Traces, that is, of life and events, of such a nature as to ensure that during my childhood and adolescence, Knossos would become engraved on my subconscious, and that later I would study History and Archaeology in Athens. Literary creativity, of course, leaves no proofs of the stages

through which it passes. I will mention certain memories, certain influences and decisions, a particular climate, tales as well as encounters from Herakleion in the 1950s and 1960s. I will try to recreate my passage through a period that today seems very remote. I will say something, too, about the different attitudes that existed, in Herakleion particularly, about neighbouring Knossos and Minoan civilisation. As archaeologists, historians, scholars of literature and writers well know, a period that we think of conventionally as 'remote' can still lay its touch upon our present, can even lead us to new narratives about the past. Let us not forget, either, that the words of a writer, however personal they may appear, always concern a larger number of people.

When I was a child, Knossos was a kind of fairytale. The strange thing about this fairytale was that it was right there, beside you: you could go on the bus (because there weren't many private cars in those days), with your school or with your parents, and there you were, in the palace itself. You could walk around its ruins, touch a wall, find yourself in the rooms of a queen and marvel at the painted blue dolphins she had on her walls. Childhood imagination would fill in the gaps in the ruins, or conjure up whole scenes of life, sometimes even taking part in the action. This great familiarity with the site of Knossos is preserved in family photographs, not only those taken inside the archaeological site, but also just outside. It was there, following the custom of 'Clean Monday', that families sitting on the ground, out of doors, would eat the first Lenten fare after Carnival and the children would fly huge kites that they'd made themselves. Knossos, with its couple of cafés opposite the entrance and not many tourists, made one of the most frequent and best loved excursions for the people of Herakleion and the schools of the town.

The fairytale of Knossos had everything it needed to be thrilling. There were queens and princesses, dressed very provocatively for the time, to be sure, but haughty, beautiful and elegant. There were half-naked princes – how strange of them to deck themselves out with lilies and feathers! It had

love affairs, partings, mystery, horror, blood, but naturally everything came out right in the end, since Theseus was going to kill the bloodthirsty Minotaur. It hardly needs saying that the story of Theseus, Ariadne and the Minotaur was staple fare among the stories they used to teach us in those days about Minoan civilisation, quickly passing over the fact that the Minotaur was the son of a queen and a bull-god, leaving it to be inferred that this union was almost sufficient justification for the monster's punishment. In other words, the fairytale of Knossos had a direct and pedagogically simple moral: good always wins out over evil.

Whatever I knew back then about Knossos I had learned from my schoolteachers or from my parents, both of whom were doctors in Herakleion. In those years, Greece was emerging from the decade of the occupation, resistance and civil war. Because of those horrors, and also because of the structure of traditional Cretan communities, every family had mixed-up elements of town and village, of educated and uneducated members, of rich and poor relations. This enables me to make an observation, with hindsight, about those uneducated country folk, agricultural workers mostly, who surrounded my childhood and taught me many important things in their own way.

Those uneducated folk knew something, too, about King Minos, Ariadne, Theseus, the Minotaur, the Palace of Knossos, even about the excavations. What little they knew they had learned entirely by word of mouth, from hearsay and stories. In those days, there was no television; radio did not reach beyond the better-off and, in the villages, the cafés. They certainly hadn't been told anything about Minoan civilisation in the churches, which were responsible for their spiritual guidance. It might never have occurred to them to visit the ruins of Knossos or the Museum, but they had a pretty succinct idea of what Minoan civilisation was. They also had a great respect for whatever earned the respect of their more cultured and powerful peers – the more so if they happened to have worked as labourers on an excavation.

Adolescence changes things. The fairytale ceased to be so much a fairytale, but Knossos still exercised a special fascination, as strongly as before. Those were the years before life vanished from city centres, and if you took a walk around the central square, you would run into the 'wise men' of the town: Nikolaos Platon perhaps, Stylianos Alexiou for sure, with his elegant wife, the literary scholar Martha Aposkitou-Alexiou. The sense that Crete had enjoyed a brilliant local past during the Minoan period – the brilliance guaranteed by the fact that by this time, thousands of foreigners were coming from the ends of the earth to see the Museum and Knossos – gave the townspeople of Herakleion something to be proud of.

This pride, in a way, counterbalanced the age-old antagonism between the centre and the periphery, between Athens and Herakleion, between 'Greece' and Crete. Let us not forget that in 2013, we were celebrating only a hundred years since the union of Crete with Greece, so half a century ago, the consciousness of a separate local identity was much stronger in Crete.

There was something else as well. Minoan civilisation helped Crete acquire a different image. I mean that the perpetual revolutions of the Cretans against the Ottoman Empire, from the creation of the modern Greek state in 1828 to the end of the 19th century, had established, particularly in the rest of Greece, an image, or rather a caricature, of the Cretan as a rough, tough fighter. Minoan civilisation, on the other hand, gifted Crete with a past that was refined, unique, in which men and women were equal. A past altogether peace-loving, as the archaeologists believed at the time on the basis of the finds, and everybody else from a yearning, perhaps, for peace after the war. However remote in time or ruinous this Minoan past might be, it was at least an antidote to the poison of the caricature. Knossos was our Acropolis, the great past of Crete.

We should not deceive ourselves, however. Minoan civilisation became more widely accepted during my adolescent years for reasons that were economic. The outbreak of mass tourism was due, of course, to the great change and

development in Western societies. Crete was beginning to gain, not just fame, but also substantial profit from its Minoan past. This fact contributed correspondingly to the mass reception of Minoan civilisation, particularly among the lower classes, or those who enjoyed an immediate benefit, even if their understanding did not increase at the same rate.

It was not long before darker consequences began to emerge, even disastrous ones. For example, the period saw a wholesale rise in the trade in looted antiquities, which had existed since the 19th century. Anyone who made money in Herakleion was assumed to have found the 'golden pig with her piglets', meaning Minoan gold objects that they'd sold to the racketeers. This popular fantasy even clung in those days to archaeologists, who for the most part were poor and honest, probably because it resonated with certain practices of Evans, as well as of other distinguished citizens who dealt with these things. From my own experience, it has happened to me to persuade a villager of my acquaintance to hand over a beautiful Hellenistic silver coin to the Museum, where we went together, against the legal reward – but of course, I had no idea what other objects he might have had in his possession. It has also happened to me, during those years, to hear stories of systematic looting by local people, as well as of the fruitless efforts by archaeologists to disrupt the networks. Years later, when I read Yannis Sakellarakis' celebrated account of three generations of known racketeers, all from the same ordinary family in Crete, I became convinced that the trader in looted antiquities was 'the man next door'.[2]

It still moves me to recall this image from a visit to a place on the south coast of Crete that was then quite difficult to get to: a line of low houses, in front of them a line of large tamarisk bushes, in front of those a broad beach with the shingle of the Libyan Sea, and drawn up on the shingle, two or three fishing boats that had landed a few fish to be fried in the single café. A little way beyond, where a thicket had been cut back vertically, poked out thousands of fragments of ancient vases, and next to them, on the bank of the dry river, two

monolithic columns of grey marble lying on their sides. In this divine setting lived, in conditions of great poverty like everyone else in this seaside settlement – I don't know whether in their case the poverty was only for show – a trader in illicit antiquities who was known throughout Crete, the husband indeed of a woman I knew well. Today the place has been built over with a giant illegal housing estate, concrete boxes put up without planning permission, tavernas, bars, discos, shops and boutiques, and harbour works of concrete that block the view from the estate to the sea. I don't know what happened to the antiquities, which have certainly disappeared.

Another negative consequence was that Crete became identified exclusively with Minoan civilisation, and particularly with the great palaces of Knossos, Phaistos and Mallia (the palace at Zakros was discovered by Nikolaos Platon towards the end of my adolescence; I remember listening to the first lecture he gave in Herakleion when he showed slides of the famous vases). This meant there was hardly any interest in the remains of other historical periods, such as the Hellenistic, Roman, Venetian or Ottoman. And while hotels were going up in their tens and hundreds, I remember very well the famous Loggia in the Venetian square in Herakleion left in ruins all through those years, and the great church of St Mark next to it languishing as the 'Minos Cinema'. At the same time, I used to hear from cultured people that the Venetian city walls would have to be pulled down (parts were already in ruins) to allow the town to breathe – and this in the days when there were few cars or large blocks of flats. It was more or less the same mentality, a little later, during the first years of the dictatorship, that led to the demolition (not without some protest) of the enormous Venetian church that I remember having been, for many years, a senior school for girls known as the Valide Mosque. In the Museum, very little space was made available for Classical, Hellenistic and Roman antiquities. As for certain splendid remains of Ottoman civilisation, their fate is better not mentioned.

In this prevailing climate, heroic efforts were made by enlightened townspeople of every sort, led by the archaeologists and schoolteachers, to save what they could, to study and to record, to set up institutions, to inform the public, following a tradition long established by the cultured and open-minded among the citizens of Herakleion. For me, it was the gift of life to know some of these serious-minded people. Let me mention some of them, who most probably have influenced me. Stylianos Alexiou and his wife I had known from adolescent years, and I kept up with them latterly, Alexiou especially, whenever I went to Herakleion. To an extent I am indebted to him for my later decision to turn towards literature, but that is another story. On one of my frequent visits, a student by this time, in the Museum library I got to know Thomas Fanourakis, who worked as an artist there until the dictatorship ousted him from his position. The teacher of language and literature who showed me the way, and years later became a firm friend and interlocutor, was Menelaos Parlamas – the founder, while I was still living in Herakleion, together with Nikolaos Platon, Andreas Kalokairinos and others, of the Society for Cretan Historical Studies, which organises the highly regarded Cretological Congresses and publishes their Proceedings.

Times pass. What had impressed itself deep within me from my contact with Minoan civilisation, along with much that I learned and experienced later, began to emerge in my writing decades afterwards. The subject still interests me a good deal. I end this chapter with the opening of a recent short story, not yet fully published. Its title is 'The Other Ariadne':

I pretended to be asleep and let him go. Then I surrendered to oblivion, the kind that obliterates grief. I had such need of it …

When I awoke, I saw his ship in the distance. In some way, though, it seemed also close by. Because I could hear the plash of its thirty oars and the commands of my lover who thought he had vanquished everything because he had had me (he thought he had had me) for a single night. Sounds that I remembered from yesterday; but now I thought of them as the

accompaniment to my passage from my father to the foreign man, to my equilibrium between land and sea. I had never travelled by sea before, I had never been with a man. Sea and sky and land, all had been united and become one in the jet-black cloak that he had spread over my double initiation, into love and into seagoing, to protect me.

Specks of the same black colour, like crows in place of seagulls, on the ship that I saw far off but felt as though it was close by; I knew that they were his unfurled black sails. Until last night I had been the goddess of another world, and so I had guessed at once that this stranger, the avenger, my lover of one night, was not going to lower the black sails on his vessel and raise the white sails of victory which, as I had been informed, he had agreed with the king his father he would raise on his vessel if ever he came out of the Labyrinth, if he were to be fortunate enough to return to Athens. This he would not do, I knew. Because by this device he wished to kill the king his father so that immediately on his return home, he could claim the throne as his prize. I wonder if he could have been schooled towards this trick by Daidalos himself, the demonic architect of Knossos, another Athenian, but where and when they could have met, I cannot imagine. Black sails, then. Men are impatient, they kick the wise spinning-wheel to make it unfold events ever faster. Even more so, I daresay, those who think themselves victors, victors in everything.

Theseus' funereal ship is in a hurry to cut through the line of the horizon and disappear the sooner out of my life. The horizon is a fragile thread and can be cut, it is no firm web, to be secretly given by the hands of love the enchanter to grant victory.

Until it disappears, I can make out on the ship my strange brother, the Minotaur. He stands next to the victor in that unequal struggle between them. In the sunlight my brother has turned into something that resembles the shadow of Theseus, only denser, more threatening, and at the same time more tranquil. So tranquil appears my slain brother to me, it makes me weep. He follows his murderer because the slain always

follow their murderers. I was the only one to see, yesterday, through the solemn darkness that shrouded us, the Minotaur at the last minute secreting himself aboard along with us. When we were far out to sea, and the first torch was lit, I saw out of the corner of my eye, through my ringlets, that his bull's head was back in its place. He turned then and looked at me – oh, how he looked at me!

He would be following me too, because he knew that I had assisted in his death. Still, in time he would come to understand that an accessory is one thing, another the murdering sword. One thing a woman, another a man. One thing sibling affection, another love, never mind the uncontrollable passion that had taken possession of me.

My brother did not go ashore at all on that barren strand, where Theseus and I made love before dawn. He would go on, with the ship that was carrying his murderer. He had to. Even if the world was undone, I think that everything happened as it should.

Notes

1 Part of the original Greek text given at the *Cretomania* colloquium was published in the newspaper *To Vima* (15 December 2013). This English translation is by R. Beaton.

2 *Editor's note*: this is a reference to Sakellarakis' book *Γεύση μιας προϊστορικής ελιάς* (Athens: Ikaros 2005), and its chapter 'Αστυνομικές ιστορίες', pp. 81–137.

Afterword

Michael Fotiadis

Afterthoughts

I am no expert in Minoan archaeology, much less in modern cultural history. But, given my more general interest in disciplinary history and in issues arising from and around the praxis of archaeology, I have also been curious about the phenomenon a few of my colleagues have for some time called 'Cretomania'. And so, I was delighted when the organisers of the round table in which the present volume originated invited me to co-chair a session, to comment on a couple of the presentations and, last, to offer a few reflections on the event to be included in the ensuing publication. It is the last task that I try – not without trepidation – to accomplish here.

Many of the contributions to the volume in hand are by archaeologists who have chosen Minoan Crete as a long-term object of research. Does that choice make them 'Cretomaniacs'? Consider. At various times, and ever more firmly since about 1950, archaeology has been understood to be a rational endeavour, where the practitioners confront their object unperturbed by emotions; moreover, they do not aim at eliciting emotional or aesthetic responses on the part of their audiences. Now, this is patently different from the staging of a drama, an opera, a ballet, or the decorating of an ocean liner's staterooms, salons and pools (see Momigliano, Morris, Boucher, Blakolmer, Caloi, this volume): all of the latter address the emotive dimension of today's humanity, whereas the archaeologist's endeavour is primarily geared to the cognitive side.

In short, like all archaeology in the present, Minoan archaeology is an analytical affair, too much so to be counted as a species of Cretomania. What, however, of one's choice to specialise in Minoan archaeology or undertake long-term research in that field? Choices of this sort have nothing in

common with the calculated, composed rationality of present-day archaeological practice, and here the legacy of Minoan Crete and its 20th-century incarnation, Cretomania, may be directly relevant. I have no recourse to statistical figures, but the volume of scholarship being published today about Minoan Crete indicates that large numbers of people work in the area. Crete, no doubt, is the most intensively researched province of the prehistoric Aegean world (and where, as a consequence, much innovative research is done). In other words, many more archaeologists choose to work on Minoan sites and issues than on sites and issues of continental Greece, or of all the other Aegean islands counted together. It seems to me that such a preference cannot very well be understood without recourse to the legacy of Cretomania.

But why delve into such questions? What has happened to us, level-headed prehistorians of the Aegean lands? Why do we now attend to the culture, arts and crafts of the 20th century C.E., and do so with the same diligence and punctiliousness that characterise our researches into prehistory? Are we branching out into the field of Modern cultural history? Are we being, willy-nilly, transformed into cultural historians of Modernity? How did this come about? That is the first issue I will turn to below.

As Sylvie Humbert-Mougin reminded us a decade ago, the word 'crétomanie' was born from the pen of Paul Morand in 1960.[1] Only in recent time, however, indeed in the 21st century, 'crétomanie' and its English rendering, 'Cretomania', began appearing in scholarly publications (especially by archaeologists) with some frequency. In the same period (that is, since 2000), studies of the reception of the prehistoric Minoan culture in Modern times proliferated. This proliferation followed on the heels of the centenary celebrations of the discoveries at Knossos and Phaistos, but it was not prompted by those celebrations, except perhaps as a reflexive response.[2] It, rather, went hand in hand with a growing sense that the 'taken-for-granteds' of Minoan archaeology were not rock-solid and trans-historically valid, but bore the marks of the

historical conjunctures in which they had been wrought; they could, therefore, be profitably re-examined. The role of the public as an agent possibly shaping, to an extent, the content of disciplinary claims about Minoan Crete thereby emerged as a topic to be explored; and, in reverse, the reception of the archaeologist's wisdom by the public rose to the foreground as another area in need of attention.[3] From here, it would be a short step to focusing on Cretomania, the Moderns' fascination with things Minoan, as a research topic in its own right.

These are, to my mind, the main ingredients of the logic that has led to our (quasi-) transformation from diligent students of prehistoric times to diligent students of 20th-century Modernity. Does this breaching of traditional disciplinary boundaries and the shift of our intellectual energies onto the new field constitute progress over the previous state, when Cretomania was not yet within our purview? I do not mind if you call it 'progress' as long as you acknowledge that this 'progress' has little, if anything, in common with the Modernist understanding of 'progress', of Comtean descent, that is revered in our daily lives. Furthermore, I have no doubt that the present volume is not the end of our intellectual road, that our new interest will further expand to include related issues that have thus far remained unexplored. I shall proceed by identifying some such issues.

First: how does Cretomania relate to other European manias in various moments of the 20th century, and how does it, in the same moments, relate to European phobias? Evans's conviction that Minoan Crete was thoroughly European, for example, must have played straight into the racist xenophobia and anti-Semitism of the colonial era by providing committed, bourgeois Europeans with soothing assurances that they descended neither from Africa nor from the Phoenician, Semitic Orient; or so I suspect.[4] Now, this suspicion requires research in order to be substantiated (or be laid to rest). One should try, that is, to find traces of that 'playing into' in the literature of the period (e.g., in the popular press). Clearly, that is work for which cultural historians of Modernity are better

prepared than archaeologists. Collaboration between practitioners of the two disciplines in exploring the matter indeed recommends itself.

Second: I wonder, could Cretomania have served early 20th-century Europeans as a divertissement from the sense, so widely shared at the time, that they lived in a period of moral decline and physical degeneration?[5] This is perhaps an intractable question, yet worth keeping in mind. After all, it was largely through the performing arts – that is, in the context of *entertainment* – that the bourgeois public was exposed to the effects of Cretomania.

Third, but closely related to the previous: the sense that Europeans lived in a time of decadence grew stronger during and following World War I, but did the war leave any marks on the practices we collectively designate today as 'Cretomania'? Or did the cult of the primitive and exotic, and the fascination with sexuality (see, especially, Chapters 5 and 6 by Momigliano and Morris, this volume), persevere – or were they even intensified? – in the face of the war's death toll and the demise, after 1918, of imperial aristocracies? To take this one step further: we may want to attend to and puzzle over the transformations of the expressions of Cretomania during the entire course of its Modern career, from Bakst (Momigliano, Chapter 5 of this volume) to Birtwistle[6] (but, again, this is work to be carried out in collaboration with cultural historians).[7]

Fourth, it might be instructive to undertake comparisons with the much older and far more widespread (and ever enduring) Egyptomania, in particular its 20th-century revivals.[8] Having already been the object of many studies, Egyptomania indeed offers ample opportunity for comparisons.

I have saved for fifth and last a somewhat different, more complex, and potentially more productive issue that we may want to explore. 'What do [archaeology's] chronological fabrications answer to if not certain notions of *decorum* of

temporal and space-time relationships?' Preziosi (Chapter 1 of this volume) provocatively asks. Like architecture, and like so many other practices instituted since antiquity, archaeology thrives on creating and maintaining decorum: putting and keeping ancient artefacts in their 'proper' temporal places. Or so Preziosi suggests,[9] and the suggestion subsequently serves him as a springboard for a dense argument, a few aspects of which I will highlight here. Archaeology's commitment to 'ortho-chronicity' (i.e., to placing and keeping artefacts in 'proper' chronological order[10]), Preziosi argues, answers to the requirements of a teleological narrative rather than to those of history, and furthermore, that teleological narrative pretends to be 'a "mere" (empirical, scientific, 'true', etc.) chronology'. Now, you do not have to agree with every one of these assertions (see also below) in order to see that they are relevant to the matter of Cretomania. The latter, as Preziosi puts it, 'is a disturbance of the harmony of decorum, of the proper or ideal (imaginary) sequential order of the chronological artistry of archaeology', or, better yet, Cretomania 'disconcerts the expected developmental narrative of history and historical chronology, by interrupting its direction and canonical flow, by putting a spanner in its machinery, by being *temporally indecorous*' (all italics above are Preziosi's). Does this also mean that Cretomania has (or had) 'the revolutionary potential of snatching something from the past for use in politically transforming the present? … If it constituted a modernist illusion, was it a useful illusion?'

Preziosi's own answer to such questions would, to my mind, be a qualified 'yes'; namely, that Cretomania does indeed contain materials that could guide us in launching actions with radical epistemological-cum-political consequences, yet this radical potential has neither come to the fore in analytical discussions, nor – much less – has it been harnessed in launching concrete actions. I find myself in agreement with both sides of the answer I have just imputed to Preziosi, so let me expand a little on the matter.

Most of the essays in the present volume are case studies in the history of Cretomania. They chart the course of Cretomania by discussing in fine detail – indeed, probing deep into – specific instances of it, and relating those instances to their historical (social, political, etc.) conjunctures. Now, such 'charting' by means of thorough-going case studies is, I think, an appropriate first step in our study of Cretomania (see also Introduction, this volume). Once our appetency for history, for the 'what' and 'when', is satisfied, however, we might concentrate on different issues. One example: we might ask ourselves, what is the *epistemic* capital of Cretomania (and other comparable manias)? We might, that is, turn our attention to and illuminate the *cognitive* effects of concrete instances of those practices, not only their emotive and esthetic ones.

We might also want to draw on the epistemic capital of Cretomania – its wisdom, in launching action in concrete circumstances, e.g., while staging museum exhibits. Imagine, for instance, an exhibit that would enfold in two levels running in parallel, one level being organised in accordance with the prescriptions of disciplined archaeological narrative, the other in accordance with the wisdom of Cretomania.[11] Provided that curators prioritised neither level and staged both levels with the same solemnity characteristic of archaeological exhibits since the 19th century, would not the contiguity of archaeological and 'Cretomaniac' principles of presentation provoke thought on the part of the viewer? If, for example, the second level (Cretomania) seemed a little strange or 'un-natural' to the viewer, would not some part of that strangeness spill over to the first level (archaeology)? Would not Cretomania's disrespect for modern archaeology's commitment to 'ortho-chronicity' suggest that such a commitment might be but another case of mania?[12]

As I already indicated, you need not share all of Preziosi's convictions in order to entertain such thoughts. For one, 'ortho-chronicity', the keeping of artefacts in 'proper' temporal order, is hardly an end in itself; it is, in fact, drawn upon in a myriad

of constructs of distinctly *historical* scope; constructs that cannot easily be mistaken for teleological narratives. Also keep in mind that chronological sequences are debated and routinely re-negotiated and revised (e.g., the tempo of the transformations of Minoan palatial society) in light of new empirical research and theoretical wisdom; there is, in short, nothing sacred about them. More important yet, chronological sequences are wrought in networks, or collectives, consisting of multifarious agents, both human and non-human. Their authority derives in the first place from, and is commensurate with, the authority of those collectives. It does not, most certainly, depend on their suitability for constructing teleological narratives.

In short, it seems to me that 'ortho-chronicity' today is part and parcel of our profound (and hardly reversible?) engagement with historicism, rather than a sign of longing for teleological narratives. If so, by taking liberties with painstakingly established chronologies and imaginatively recombining them, Cretomania invites us to rethink our unconditional devotion to historicism, its 'ortho-chronicity' and their effects. It claims,

> I am historicism's estranged, driven away sibling. In King Minos' times we used to work as a team in the factory of Gnosis; patents were issued in both our names. But much has gone awry since (some of your books make this clear), and I ended on historicism's wrong side. Your devotion to this historicism is what prevents you now from appreciating my *epistemic* capital.[13]

Notes

1 Humbert-Mougin 2006, p. 205. 'Cretomania' as a synonym of satyriasis, on the other hand (see Preziosi, Chapter 1 of this volume, and Kraus 1826, entry 'Cretomania'), is an older word, a neologism, it seems, of the 18th or early-19th century (see Koumanoudis 1900, p. 508; entry 'κρητομανέω', after Coray in a 1805 work). But 'Cretomania' at the time was not thought to have anything to do with Crete; if anything, its first component was thought by some to derive from *creta* (Latin for chalk), but its etymology and meaning were disputed: see the review of Kraus 1826 in Anonymous 1834, p. 398. As a (quasi-) medical term, Cretomania as satyriasis is, of course, more Latin than it is English (cf.

Preziosi, Chapter 1 of this volume, who playfully and provocatively invents an etymology for 'Cretomania'). I thank my colleague Dimitris Georgakopoulos for drawing my attention to Koumanoudis's relevant work.

2 See Hamilakis & Momigliano 2006, pp. 25–26. The subtitle of their edited volume, *Producing and Consuming the 'Minoans'*, highlights the contrast with the publications directly associated with the centenary celebrations.

3 The two-way relationship between the interpretations of Minoan art and 20th-century Modernity (qua *Art Nouveau/Jugendstil*) was already remarked upon by Alexandre Farnoux two decades ago (Farnoux 1996 [1993], pp. 108–110).

4 I am only speculating above about the *reception* of Evans's writings by a wider public. The extent to which Evans himself shared the racist and anti-Semitist wisdom I touched upon is a debatable issue, but wholly irrelevant to the suspicion I intimated above.

5 For Evans's way of coping with the issue of the decline of the Minoan civilisation in *The Palace of Minos*, see the apt observations of John McEnroe (McEnroe 1995, pp. 12–13).

6 I thank Gerald Cadogan for calling my attention to Harrison Birtwistle's opera *The Minotaur* (first performance in London, 2008).

7 A recent book by historian of literature and cultural practices Theodore Ziolkowski (2008), however, follows a different approach, only indirectly relevant to the concerns of the present volume: see Momigliano 2010.

8 Sir John Soane could speak of an 'Egyptian mania' as early as the 1820s: Curran 1996, p. 739.

9 I am inescapably reminded here of the 19th-century mantra and Mary Douglas' succinct rephrasing of it, 'dirt as matter out of place' (Douglas 1984 [1966], p. 35).

10 While not a complete neologism, 'ortho-chronicity' has, as far as I know, not been used before in a humanist text.

11 The above suggestion is inspired by Bruno Latour's discussion of an exhibit at the Natural History Museum, New York: Latour 2008, esp. pp. 84–85.

12 For a relevant, more extended argument, and for references to 19th- and early 20th-century authors that would find it attractive, see Fotiadis 2013, especially pp. 301–303.

13 I am immensely thankful to Alexandre Farnoux and to Nicoletta Momigliano for including me in the Cretomania round table, and thus giving me the opportunity to put my mind to work.

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(Preface)

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Orthochronicity and its (dis)contents: Cretomania and Frank Lloyd Wright

Engaging with the subject of 'Cretomania' – the modern 'mania' for things Minoan and the latest in a modern field of pathologies such as kleptomania or Beatlemania – would seem to involve accounting historiographically and critically for the *reception and use* of what we call Minoan Crete in modern and contemporary art and architecture and other artistries (theatre, cinema, fashion, social and political propaganda, advertising, and fashion), tragic and delightful examples of which we can see in this volume. Yet raising the subject also invokes a need to articulate what is deeply at stake in foregrounding the question itself in the first place: the cogency or otherwise of contemporary theories about time, memory, and the relations between artistry and other social practices such as philosophy, politics, and theology. Any desire, *manic* or otherwise (both presently and formerly) *for* artifacts or mentifacts (ideas) said to be *not of their time* (or anachronic), rests on a set of assumptions regarding fittingness or *decorum*. By which I mean the homogeneity or organic coherence of parts or *members* of a body of objects or of phenomena more generally. Any sense of temporal or chronological decorum is tethered to presumptions about memory – about what remembering literally presumes: the putting back into proper order a wholeness taken as lost, forgotten, or obscured in the present time and sensations of the observer; the curing of *amnesia* by

the artifice or artistry of (spatio-temporal) wholeness. In the case of the artistry of chronology, *orthochronicity* is the proper or correct or decorous sequencing (to every thing its proper turn, time, or season) imagined as a narrative or teleological progression from a putative origin to the here and now of the observer or narrator. It is the masquerading of teleology as chronology, and the reconciliation of what is presumed lost in disremembering the distinctions between art and religion, the discontent of ortho-chronology. These issues will be explored with respect to the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright.

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Identity and freedom: some observations on Minoan and contemporary Greek architecture

The identification of Minoan influences in contemporary architecture in Greece has been so far restricted to traces of Minoan decorative motifs, which seem to have played a rather insignificant role. As a result, official history justifiably ignores the matter. A definition of the Minoan paradigm and a broader search for its manifestations has thus remained largely unexplored. If one were to look beyond the blatant use of Minoan decoration, so frequently met on contemporary Crete, but also in conjunction with it, and probe deeper into more abstract aspects in architecture, such as structural and conceptual characteristics, one would potentially unearth surprising affinities between projects, designed primarily but not exclusively on Crete, by modern Greek architects and Minoan architecture. Our intention is to follow two main directions, the iconographic and the abstract. The former one is exemplified by the search of Greek character in the 1930s (Kouremenos, Zoumboulidis, Kyriakos), and its postwar successor, the search of genius loci by the adaptation of Minoan patterns (Antonakakis, Koulermos, Sgouros). The latter is identified with attributes such as naturalness, labyrinthine

layouts, and massive structural members (Zenetos, Koulermos, Antonakakis).

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The artistic reception of Minoan Crete in the period of Art Deco: the reconstruction of the palace at Knossos … and why Arthur Evans was right

While the relation between the Modern Style (Art Nouveau) and the discoveries of the Cretan Bronze Age at the beginning of the 20th century constitute an often-discussed, albeit controversial topic, it appears that questions of artistic reception and related phenomena during the 1920s and 1930s have so far received much less attention in scholarship. It is for this reason that this contribution aims to throw light on the interrelations between Art Déco, Cubism, and their related artistic trends on the one hand, and the archaeological activities in 'Minoan Crete' (excavations, artefacts, research, restorations, and reconstructions) on the other, during the time span between World Wars I and II. In contrast to the preceding period of Art Nouveau, in the 1920s and 1930s Aegean archaeologists and modern artists had a considerably lesser amount of appealing stimuli to offer one another. One relevant point for discussion is represented by the architectural 'reconstitutions' by Arthur Evans of his 'Palace of Minos' at Knossos during 1922–1930. Their character was already criticised from the start and, more recently, they have been invariably characterised as 'a tribute to Art Nouveau and Art Deco sensitivities', 'a good example of Art Deco architecture', not to mention 'the stoa of a Hellenistic agora' and 'the shrine of the fake'. Does the 'Palace of Minos' as created by Arthur Evans and his architects really constitute 'the vision of one man'? At first sight, such assessments appear highly obvious and even deserving. It is, nonetheless, imperative to check the validity of such criticism and Evans's own basis for the creation of this distinct image of Minoan palatial architecture. When compared, for example, with Akrotiri on Thera and

other recent finds, Evans's vision turns out to be remarkably close to the original, authentic appearance of Minoan architecture.

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The Minoan woman as the Oriental woman: Mariano Fortuny's Knossos scarves and Ruth St. Denis

In this paper, I discuss the reception of Minoan culture by the Spanish artist Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, an important representative of European fashion in the first half of the 20th century. I focus on his textile creations known as 'Knossos scarves', created from 1906 to 1928, and decorated with Minoan motifs. These scarves represent Fortuny's interpretation of Minoan art, and especially of the Minoan woman. He chose American pioneer dancer Ruth St. Denis to model his Knossos scarves during their official 1907 presentation in Berlin. Ruth St. Denis was touring Germany at the time, performing her Oriental dances, such as *Radha*. Fortuny's choice of St. Denis to introduce his Knossos scarves partly reflects ideas of the Minoan woman that some archaeologists and art historians had created at the beginning of the early 20th century and, in turn, reflects modern concerns about female sexuality and the 'Woman Question'.

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From Russia with love: Minoan Crete and the Russian Silver Age

In my paper, I discuss the reception and use of Minoan Crete by two Russian intellectuals, the artist Léon Bakst and the writer Dmitry Merezhkovsky, who are both representatives of the Russian 'Silver Age', a label conventionally applied to cultural developments spanning the period 1898–1917. More specifically, I focus on examples of theatrical productions

created by Bakst for the Ballets Russes and for other companies, and on two books by Merezhkovsky, *The Birth of the Gods: Tutankhamon in Crete* (1925) and *The Secret of the West: Atlantis-Europe* (1930). Bakst and Merezhkovsky did bring from Russia a particular kind of 'love' to Minoan Crete: a new interest in the human body, especially in its androgynous form, and a new sensuality and eroticism mixed with spirituality. The ideas expressed by the two Russians offer intriguing parallels, as well as contrasts, with the reception of Minoan Crete in other contemporary traditions, and arguably anticipate aspects of more recent receptions of this culture as 'modern' and as representative of a female-centred society, living in peaceful harmony with nature, and displaying intriguing attitudes to sex.

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Lord of the dance: Ted Shawn's *Gnossienne* and its Minoan context

The focus of this paper is a short solo dance, *Gnossienne*, choreographed and first performed by the American dancer Ted Shawn in 1919. Shawn was a significant figure in the early development of modern dance. In 1915, he and Ruth St Denis formed the Denishawn School of Dance. Denishawn used dance techniques from all over the world in their training, and in their heyday the Denishawn Dancers were America's leading dance company. Martha Graham, sometimes called the 'mother of modern dance', first trained and performed with the Denishawn. Shawn kept *Gnossienne*, which requires a high level of physical bodily control, in his repertoire for over thirty years, and it was then passed down through Shawn's main protégée, Barton Mumaw, to his student Jack Clark. In Shawn's own words, 'to music by Eric Satie, I represented a priest of ancient Crete going through a ritual at the altar of the snake goddess'. *Gnossienne* was one of a number of Shawn's pieces that placed a male dancer centre stage, itself a comment on the dominance of females in modern dance at this time. The paper

explores the Minoan inspiration behind the dance, both in its imagery and its narrative, situating it within the context of popular knowledge and perceptions of Minoan culture at this time. It also looks at how and where *Gnossienne* was incorporated into Denishawn performances against the wider backdrop of the range of exotic and oriental dance themes.

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The ocean liner *Aramis*: a voyage to the land of Minos and Art Deco

In 1932, the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes launched a new vessel: the ocean liner *Aramis*. Although it bore the name of one of the Three Musketeers, this ship – which served the Far East via Egypt – was, in fact, predominantly decorated in an Aegean style. This decor, largely inspired by Cretan archaeological finds, was highly unusual for an ocean liner, which did not even travel to Greece. The personality of the president of the Compagnie des Messagerie Maritimes, Georges Philippar, goes some way towards explaining this choice, but in the 1930s, this 'exotic' decor was not, in fact, entirely out of place for passengers who were generally aware of the archaeological finds on Crete. These had been brought to their attention by the press, and also by the cruises organised by the Messageries Maritimes. Inspired by Georges Philippar, the ocean liner *Aramis* was an important experimental opportunity for many artists, including painters Mathurin Méheut and Yvonne Jean-Haffen, and interior decorator-cabinet makers, such as Marc Simon, who furnished the various rooms and cabins. A plunge into the depths of the archives of this vanished ship allows us to rediscover the universe of luxury experienced by its original passengers: a Minoan world that was peaceful and comfortable, colourful and light, as well as original and modern.

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Cretomania and neo-paganism: the Great Mother Goddess and gay male identity in the Minoan Brotherhood

The Minoan Brotherhood is a neo-pagan organization for gay men that articulates spiritual and sexual identity through ritual practice framed by the culture and archaeology of Bronze Age Crete. As an initiatory cult, the organisation keeps many aspects of its rites private, but they do share a *mythos* that centres on the divine pair of a supreme female and her youthful son, developed from the writings of Arthur Evans, Jane Harrison, and Robert Graves. In this paper, I discuss the establishment of the Minoan Brotherhood in the 1970s, when Minoan imagery was also more broadly adopted by women's groups inspired by matriarchal theories of prehistoric Europe. An earlier line of reception and cultural creation had already recognised Crete as a locus for changing notions of male erotics and a burgeoning gay identity.

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Minoans and the postmodern critique of national history: two novels by Rhea Galanaki

Minoan civilisation does not figure predominantly in Galanaki's first novel, *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* (1989), a historical novel whose action takes place between 1823 and 1867. However, the Cretan background of the hero is subtly connected with archaeological discoveries that would begin only after his death. The paper argues that allusions to the Minoan past of the island acquire a function in this novel, in the context of a wider (international) postmodern critique of national history. Less well-known is Galanaki's fourth novel, *The Century of Labyrinths* (2002), which again takes characters and situations from the real modern history of Crete – the century in question runs for 1878 to 1978. Discovery and excavation of Minoan civilisation are central to the story, which is part history, part imaginary, of the main characters, whose modern fate and identity are shown to be interwoven with the deep history of the island.

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Rhea Galanaki's *The Century of Labyrinths*: a dialogue between literature and archaeology that starts with Minos Kalokairinos

Rhea Galanaki's novel *The Century of Labyrinths* is inspired by the archaeological debate about Minos Kalokairinos and his early excavation at the Palace of Knossos as it is shaped today, thanks to his personal written legacy. Here, some reflections on the central concepts of the *century* and the *labyrinth*s, which weave the book's complex spatial and temporal pattern, are expressed; and certain aspects of the *longue* Mediterranean social and cultural *durée* that characterise, directly or indirectly, the literary narrative are assessed. Finally, the paper emphasises that Kalokairinos and his late 19th-century Knossian finds have already started to compose, mainly through women's scholarly and artistic contributions, a chapter of their own in *Cretomania*: one that matches the 'entry into the labyrinth' of Minoan material culture, two decades before the brilliant discoveries of Arthur Evans and other pioneers of Cretan archaeology at the beginning of the 20th century.

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Growing up next door to Knossos and 'the other Ariadne'

In this chapter, I try to trace the ways in which my childhood and adolescent years were touched by Knossos and Minoan civilisation, so as later to give rise to many references to them in my fiction (see also Chapters 9 and 10 by Beaton and Kopaka in the present volume). I further identify attitudes to Minoan civilisation that existed in Herakleion and elsewhere in Crete during the 1950s and 1960s, as well as some negative consequences that followed from the exclusive focus on the Minoans, at the expensive of other civilisations in Crete. I recall incidents and encounters that influenced my later

decisions, and I end with an extract from my unpublished short story ‘The Other Ariadne’.

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Afterword

In the Afterword, I offer some thoughts prompted by the essays in the present volume. I focus on the current status of the study of Cretomania as reflected in the essays, and I note the emphasis on historical case studies. I also contemplate possibilities for future research, including projects that will capitalise on Cretomania’s wisdom and could thereby lead to a radical re-evaluation of our epistemic practices in the humanities.

Index

Note: tables are denoted with italicized page numbers; end note information is denoted with an n following the page number.

Age of Bronze cartoons (Shanower) 8

Alexiou, Stylianos xvi, 182, 191, 193

Les animaux dans la peinture de la Crète pré-hellénique (Oulié) 128

Antonakakis, Dimitri 29, *30*, 32–3, 34–5, 37n20

Antonakakis, Suzana 29, *30*, 32–3, 34–5, 37n20

Aposkitou-Alexiou, Martha 185, 191, 193

L'Après-midi d'un Faune (ballet) 87, 90–1, 100, 117, 118

Aramis ocean liner: Aegean visual arts in 124–54; Art Deco influence on 124, 128, 129, 132–3, 136, 138, 140, 144, 145–6; children's playroom of 139; dining rooms of 135–6, 140, 143, 145; engine of 146n3; first-class rooms of 135–9, 140; games room of 138, 141; history of 124; interior furnishings of 131–40; Jean-Haffen's work on 133, 134, 137, 139, 141–3, 146, 152n68; Méheut's work on 133, 134, 136, 141–6, 150–1n49, 152n67; Minoan-inspired frescoes on 136, 138, 142, 143–6; music rooms of 137–8, 140; officer-guided and educational tours of 129–31; origin of unique decorative scheme for 124–31; paintings on 140–6; *Prince of Lilies* on 137, 142; publicity and media coverage of 125–7, 130, 147–8nn10–11; Raymond's work on 131, 133–5, 140, 141, 146; salon hallway of 137; second-class rooms of 139–40; smoking rooms of 135, 140; specifications of 147n8; swimming pool of 139, 142; *Underwater Landscapes* on 139, 142; writing room of 139, 141

architecture and reconstructions: Art Deco period 39–57, 132; contemporary Greek architecture as 25–37; orthochronicity of 17–23, 197–9; overview of 3

Ariadne's Children (Beaton) 189

Arp, Jean 42

Art Deco period: during 1920s and 1930s 41, 42–3; Aegean Bronze Age distinction from 40–2; *Aramis* ocean liner reflecting 124, 128, 129, 132–3, 136, 138, 140, 144, 145–6; architecture and reconstructions in 39–57, 132; cultural icons or stereotypes in 41–2; iconography in 40, 44, 45–6, 47, 48–9, 52; motifs in 40, 41–2, 43, 52; other Minoan architectural reconstructions reflecting 50–1; overview of 39–40, 51–3; 'Palace of Minos' reconstruction reflecting 39, 43–51, 52–3

L'art égéen (Charbonneaux) 128

Art Nouveau: Art Deco *vs.* 39, 40–1, 48–9; Cretomania coinciding with 4; Knossos scarves influenced by 73

A66 team 29, *30*, 32–3, 34–5, 37n20

Arts and Crafts movement 8

Asterix and Obelix All at Sea (La Galère d'Obélix) (Goscinny & Uderzo) 8

Atlantis (BBC) 8

Bagge, Halvor 50–1

Bahaeddin, Rahmizade 50

Bakst, Léon N.: *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* work of 87, 90–1, 100, 117; *Aramis* ocean liner decor inspired by 129; Art Deco period work of 41, 43; Ballets Russes work of 84, 87, 90–1, 92, 99, 100–1, 115, 117; biography of 86–7; *Cléopâtre* work of 87; colours used by 89; *Daphnis and Chloe* work of 87, 90, 92, 100–1; Greek and Cretan travels and sketches by 87–8, 91; *Hélène de Sparte* work of 90, 99–100; Minoan motifs used by 43, 73, 88, 90–1, 117; *Mir Iskusstva* (World of Art) of 84, 86, 92; *Narcisse* work of 87, 90, 99; 'The Paths of Classicism in Art' by 88–9; *Phèdre* work of 43, 90, 91, 101–2; *Portrait of Sergei Diaghilev and His Nanny* by 87; in Russian Silver Age 84–5, 86–91, 92, 98–102, 115, 117; *Serov and I in Greece* by 87; *Shéhérazade* work of 87; *Le Spectre de la Rose* work of 87; *Terror Antiquus* of 87, 88, 98, 103n13

Ballets Russes (Diaghilev) 84, 87, 90–1, 92, 99, 100–1, 111, 115, 117

Beardsley, Arthur 74

Beaton, Roderick: *Ariadne's Children* 189

Belle Époque 2, 4, 129

Benedict XVI (Pope) 19

Benois, Alexander 86

Bernhardt, Sarah 90

The Birth of the Gods: Tutankhamon in Crete (Merezhkovsky) 84, 92, 93, 94–6, 104n25

Borgese, Antonio 77, 78, 79

Bosanquet, R. C. 73

Boyd Hawes, Harriet 41, 85

Brancusi, Constantin 42

Buczynski, Eddie 158, 162–3, 164

Burial of the Count of Orgaz (El Greco) 184

Cadogan, Gerald 50

Les Cahiers d'Art (Zervos) 128

Cameron, Marc 47, 48

Catteau, Charles 42

The Century of Labyrinths (Galanaki): Kalokairinos as inspiration for 180–1, 182, 183, 185–6, 186n2; labyrinth trope in 176–7, 178, 181–3, 184; as literature 173, 175–8, 180–7; Mediterranean *longue durée* in 183–4; overview of 175-8, 180–1; Papaoulakis family in 180, 181–2, 183, 185–6; as postmodern critique of national history 173, 175–8; religious themes in 183–4; sex and gender themes in 183–4, 185

Chagall, Marc 85, 86

Champollion ocean liner 127

Chapin, Anne 48

Charbonneaux, Jean: *L'art égéen* 128

Christakis, Kostas 6, 10nn23–4

La Civilisation égéenne (Glotz) 128

Clark, Jack 111

Cléopâtre 87, 104n25

Cole, George 40

Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes 124–31, 132, 135, 138, 141, 143

Compagnie Générale Transatlantique 127, 132, 135

Le Corbusier 32

Cretan Women (Méheut) 145

Cretomania: in architecture and reconstructions (*see* architecture and reconstructions); definition and description of 1–2, 9n1, 17, 20–1, 196, 199n1; future research in 196–9; history of 4–8; introduction to and overview of 1–10, 195–200; in literature (*see* literature); political dimensions of 5–7, 19–20, 85–6; racial dimensions of 5–7, 197, 200n4; sex and gender themes in (*see* sex and gender themes); in visual and performing arts (*see* visual and performing arts)

culture and cultural practices: architecture and reconstructions reflecting (*see* architecture and reconstructions); literature reflecting (*see* literature); Minoan Brotherhood neo-paganism as 157–67; visual and performing arts expressing (*see* visual and performing arts); *see also* Minoan Crete material culture

Dal Piaz, John 127, 132

dance *see* theater and dance

D'Annunzio, Gabriele: *Fedra* 90, 91, 101

Daphnis and Chloe 87, 90, 92, 100–1

Davydova, Ludmila 87

Dawkins, R. M. 73

The Death of the Gods (Merezhkovsky) 92

Debussy, Claude 91

The Deer Dancers (Méheut) 145

de Jong, Piet 44, 50

Le demi-dieu ou le Voyage de Grèce (Lacretelle) 128

Denishawn Company/Dancers 76, 111, 112–13, 114, 117–19; *see also* St. Denis, Ruth; Shawn, Edwin Myers 'Ted'

Diaghilev, Sergei 86, 87, 90, 117;

Ballets Russes 84, 87, 90–1, 92, 99, 100–1, 111, 115, 117; *Portrait of Sergei Diaghilev and His Nanny* (Bakst) of 87

Duncan, Isadora 72, 74, 75, 90, 92, 104n25, 111

l'École Française d'Athènes: *Etudes crétoises* 128

Egyptomania 9n1, 17, 20, 197

ekstasis (ecstasy) 20

Epstein, Jacob 42

Etudes crétoises (l'École Française d'Athènes) 128

Evans, Arthur: critiques of theories and assumptions of 6, 44, 46, 48–9, 51, 52–3; excavations and artifacts of 39–40, 41, 42, 115, 116, 133–4, 166n13; Fortuny influenced by 72–3; Galanaki's literature influenced by 182; influence of in diffusion of Minoan culture 7; Minoan Brotherhood links to 158, 159–61, 163, 164; 'Palace of Minos' reconstruction of 39, 43–51, 52–3; *The Palace of Minos* volumes by 159–60; plausibility of theories and assumptions of 47–50, 51, 52–3; racial Minoan characterisation by 6, 197, 200n4; religious Minoan characterisation by 94, 95, 97, 98, 160–1, 163, 164, 166n13; sex and gender treatment by 98, 158, 161; sexual orientation of 158, 165n4

Fanourakis, Thomas 193

Farnoux, Alexandre 42, 147n5, 200n3

Fatouros, Dimitri *29*, 31–2, 34

Fedra (D'Annunzio) 90, 91, 101

Félix Roussel ocean liner 127, 148n23

Fokine, Michail 90

Fortuny y Madrazo, Mariano: *Aramis* ocean liner decor inspired by 129; in Berlin 71, 72, 75, 76; biography of 72–3; 'Cupola' lighting system of 72; delphos gown of 72; Fortuny Museum 72, 77; Japonisme influences on 73–4; Knossos scarves of 71–81, 90, 115, 138; in Paris 72, 75; St. Denis' interaction with 71, 72, 75, 77, 79, 115; in Venice 72, 77, 78

Franco, Fausto 51

Fuller, Loïe 74–5

Fyfe, Theodore 50

Galanaki, Rhea: *The Century of Labyrinths* by 173, 175–8, 180–7; childhood near Knossos of 189–94; *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* 173, 174–5, 177, 178; 'The Other Ariadne' 193–4; postmodern critique of national history by 173–9

García Márquez, Gabriel: *One Hundred Years of Solitude* 175

Gautier, Théophile 148n22

Georges Philippar ocean liner 125

Giacometti, Alberto 42

Gilliéron, Emile and son 8, 42, 48, 115, 137, 142, 159

Glotz, Gustave: *La Civilisation égéenne* 128

Gnossienne dance: choreography and body movement in 114, 118, 119; costumes for 116–18; history of performances of 111, 114; Minoan context for 111, 114–19; musical accompaniment for 114; religious theme of 111, 114–15, 118–19; sex and gender presentation in 115–16; Shawn's history and performance of 111–19; as visual and performing arts 111–21

Goscinny, René: *Asterix and Obelix All at Sea (La Galère d'Obélix)* 8

Gould, Norma 112

Graham, Martha 111, 113

El Greco: *Burial of the Count of Orgaz* 184

Greek architecture (contemporary): abstract direction of *27*, 27–8, *29–30*, 32–3; conceptual characteristics of *27*, 28, *29–30*, 32; eclecticism in 30–1; freedom of expression in 34–5, 36n9; gallery of images of 26–34, 27, *29–30*; iconographic direction of 27, *27*, *29*, 31; identity and 25, 34–5; International Style in 25–6, 33, 35n2; 'intrinsically Minoan' aspects of 35; labyrinthine characteristics of *27*, 28, *30*, 32, 33, 36n19; large scale characteristics of *27*, 28, *30*, 33; massiveness characteristics of *27*, 28, *30*, 32, 33; Minoan influences in 25–37; modernist approach to 25–6, 28–9, *29–30*, 31–5, 35n6; motifs in 27, 27, 28, *29*, 31, 34, 36n17; naturalism (colour) in *27*, 28, *30*, 32; naturalism (natural form) in *27*, 28, 30, 32; patterns in 27, *27*, 29, 34; primitivism in *27*, 28, *29*; regionalist approach to 25–6, 28, 31, 33; 'return to the roots' movement in 26, 28, 29, 35n5; structural characteristics of *27*, 28, *29–30*, 33

Greek culture: contemporary Greek architecture as 25–37; Cretan links to 6–7, 191 (*see also* Minoan Crete material culture); Greek civil war impacting 190; Greek mythology in 17, 159, 174, 176; Greek tragic theater as 18–20, 86; literature reflecting 173, 174–5, 176 (*see also* literature)

Hall, Edith 85

Hateikyriakos-Gikas, Nikos 31, 36n15

Hélène de Sparte (Verhaeren) 90, 99–100

Hippius, Zinaida 92

Hitchcock, Louise 51

Hoffman, Josef 40, 47

Hogarth, David G. 41, 73

Hokusai, Katsushika 73

homosexuality: Evans' experiences with 158, 165n4; Minoan Brotherhood foundation of 157–65; Russian Silver Age views of 84; Shawn's experiences with 112, 114

The Incense dance 112, 118–19

International Cretological Congress 9n4

ISV Architects 26

Japonisme influences 73–4, 129

Jean-Haffen, Yvonne: *Aramis* ocean liner work of 133, 134, 137, 139, 141–3, 146, 152n68; biography of 152n68; *Prince of Lilies* 137, 142; *Underwater Landscapes* 139, 142

Jules-Bois, Henri Antoine 85

Kalokairinos, Andreas 193

Kalokairinos, Minos 180–1, 182, 183, 185–6, 186n2

Kaloutsi, Florentini 8

Kazantzakis, Nikos 95, 98, 105–6n50, 182, 183, 184

The King Must Die (Renault) 162

Klimt, Gustave 74

Klynne, Allan 51

Knossos scarves (Fortuny): history of 71–5; Japonisme influences on 73–4; Minoan motifs on 71, 72–3, 79, 90; Minoan-Oriental woman images with 71, 74–5, 77–9; overview of 71; Ruth St. Denis modeling 71, 75, 77–9, 115; visual and performing arts with 71–81, 90, 115, 138; *see also* Fortuny y Madrazo, Mariano

Konstantinides, A. 32

Koulermos, Panos 28–9, *29*, *30*, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37n20, 37n21

Kyriakos, Dimitri *29*, 30–1, 33, 43

labyrinths: *The Century of Labyrinths* 173, 175–8, 180–7; in contemporary Greek architecture *27*, 28, *30*, 32, 33, 36n19; in literature 176–7, 178, 181–3, 184

Lacretelle, Jacques: *Le demi-dieu ou le Voyage de Grèce* 128

Lalique, René 132

Lebessi, Angeliki 182

Leglas Maurice & Jamin Co. 139

LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual,

transgender) individuals *see* GLBT; homosexuality; sex and gender themes

The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha (Galanaki) 173, 174–5, 177, 178

Lipchitz, Jacques 42

literature: *The Century of Labyrinths* as 173, 175–8, 180–7; Galanaki's childhood near Knossos influencing 189–94; labyrinth trope in 176–7, 178, 181–3, 184; *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* as 173, 174–5, 177, 178; 'The Other Ariadne' as 193–4; overview of 4, 197; postmodern critique of national history in 173–9; religious themes in 173, 174–5, 176, 177–8, 183–4; Russian Silver Age 84–5, 86, 87, 90, 92–8; sex and gender themes in 183–4, 185

Londres, Albert 125

looted antiquities 192

Mackintosh, Charles Rennie 47

Mallarmé, Stéphane 91

Maraghiannis, G. 73

Mariette Pacha ocean liner 127

Marinatos, Spyridon 50, 182

Markakes, Antones 8

Martha Graham Dance Company 111

Mead, Margaret: *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* 161–2

Méheut, Mathurin: *Aramis* ocean liner work of 133, 134, 136, 141–6, 150–1n49, 152n67; biography of 152n67; *Cretan Women* 145; *The Deer Dancers* 145; *Partridge* 143–4; *Wild Duck Hunt* 143–4

Merezhkovsky, Dmitry: biography of 92–3; *The Birth of the Gods: Tutankhamon in Crete* 84, 92, 93, 94–6, 104n25; *The Death of the Gods* by 92; Greek translations by 86, 87, 90, 92; *Messiya* 92, 95, 96, 104n25, 105n39; *Mir Iskusstva* works of 86, 92; *Peter and Alexis* by 92; religion's importance to 84, 92–8; *The Resurrection of the*

Gods by 92; in Russian Silver Age 84–5, 86, 87, 90, 92–8; *The Secret of the East: Egypt-Babylon* by 92; *The Secret of the West: Atlantis-Europe* 84, 92, 93, 94, 96–7

Messiya (Merezhkovsky) 92, 95, 96, 104n25, 105n39

Midnight's Children (Rushdie) 174

Minoan Brotherhood neo-paganism: as cultural practice 157–67; establishment and tenets of 162–4; formulations of Minoan gender and divinity for 158–62; Great Mother Goddess image in 157, 160–1, 163–4; Horned God image in 163, 164; Minoan Sisterhood and 162, 163; orientations of 157–8; overview of 157, 164–5

Minoan Crete material culture: architecture and reconstructions reflecting (*see* architecture and reconstructions); Cretomania as mania for 1–2 (*see also* Cretomania); future research in 196–9; history of response to 4–8; introduction to and overview of 1–10, 195–200; literature reflecting (*see* literature); Minoan Age of 2; visual and performing arts reflecting (*see* visual and performing arts)

Minos (Sfakianaki) 185

Mir Iskusstva (World of Art) 84, 86, 92

Mitsakis, Nikos *30*, 33, 36n17

Modigliani, Amedeo 42

Mondrian, Piet 47

Moore, Henry 42

Morand, Paul 1, 196

Moreau, Gustave: *Salome Dancing Before Herod* 74

Morris, William: *News from Nowhere* 5

Mosso, Angelo 73, 74

Mucha, Alphons 74

Mumaw, Barton 111, 113, 115, 116

Munch, Edvard 74

Narcisse 87, 90, 99

neo-paganism *see* Minoan Brotherhood neo-paganism

News from Nowhere (Morris) 5

Nietzsche, Friedrich 87, 90, 93

Nigrin, Henriette 72

Nijinksy, Vaslav 86, 91, 117, 118

Normandie ocean liner 135

One Hundred Years of Solitude (García Márquez) 175

Orénoque ocean liner 128

orthochronicity of architecture: contexts for 19; Cretomania defined in relation to 17, 20–1, 197–9; definition and description of 18; theatricality of 17, 18–20; Wright's architecture in 22

Osborn, Max 77–8

'The Other Ariadne' (Galanaki) 193–4

Oulié, Marthe: *Les animaux dans la peinture de la Crète pré-hellénique* 128

The Palace of Minos (Evans) 159–60

'Palace of Minos' reconstruction (Evans) 39, 43–51, 52–3

Panagiotakis, Roussetos 8

Pantelidakis, Manolis 8

Paquin, Jeanne 90

Parlamas, Menelaos 182, 193

Partridge (Méheut) 143–4

Paschalis, Stratis: *Theseus and Ariadne in the Island of the Bulls* 8

'The Paths of Classicism in Art' (Bakst) 88–9

Pendlebury, John 116, 159

Pernier, Luigi 40, 41, 73, 74

Peter and Alexis (Merezhkovsky) 92

Petersen, Wolfgang: *Troy* 42

Phaedra see Phèdre

Phèdre 43, 90, 91, 101–2; *see also Fedra*

Philippar, Georges 126–31, 132, 141, 146

Picard, Charles 41, 43

Picasso, Pablo 85

Pikionis, Dmitri 32, 33, 35n5

Pizzetti, Ildebrando 91

Plato 20, 97

Platon, Nikolaos 182, 191, 192

Poiret, Paul 72

political dimensions: of Cretomania 5–7; of Russian Silver Age 85–6; theater reflecting 19–20

Pompon, François 139

Portrait of Sergei Diaghilev and His Nanny (Bakst) 87

postmodern critique of national history: *The Century of Labyrinths* as 173, 175–8; labyrinth trope in 176–7, 178; *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* as 173, 174–5, 177, 178; in literature 173–9; overview of 173, 178; religious themes in 173, 174–5, 176, 177–8

Pottier, Edmond 74, 115–16

Praschniker, Camillo 51

Prelle 138

Prince of Lilies (Jean-Haffen) 137, 142

Proust, Marcel 78, 85, 87, 90

Pulsar (Vardanyan) 8

racial dimensions of Cretomania 5–7, 197, 200n4

Radha dance 71, 76–9, 112–13, 204

Ravel, Maurice 90

Raymond, Georges 131, 133–5, 140, 141, 146

Reinhardt, Max 72

religion and theology: Evans' characterisation of Minoan 94, 95, 97, 98, 160–1, 163, 164, 166n13; Galanaki's literature addressing 173, 174–5, 176, 177–8, 183–4; *Gnossienne* dance representing 111, 114–15, 118–19; Great Mother Goddess image in 94, 95, 98, 157, 160–1, 163–4, 166n13, 176, 183; Horned God image in 163, 164; Minoan Brotherhood neopaganism as 157–67; Russian Silver Age views of 84, 92–8; Shawn's ties to 112; theatricality of architecture in relation to 19–20

Renault, Mary 95; *The King Must Die* 162

Report to Greco (Kazantzakis) 105n50

The Resurrection of the Gods (Merezhkovsky) 92

Rosenberg, Lev Samoilovich *see* Bakst, Léon N.

Roure, M. 139

Roussel, Félix 148n23

Rubinstein, Ida 87, 90, 91

Ruhlmann, Jacques-Emile 132

Rushdie, Salman: *Midnight's Children* 174

Russian Silver Age: Léon Bakst in 84–5, 86–91, 92, 98–102, 115, 117; Ballets Russes in 84, 87, 90–1, 92, 99, 100–1, 111, 115, 117; Dmitry Merezhkovsky in 84–5, 86, 87, 90, 92–8; *Mir Iskusstva* in 84, 86, 92; overview of 84–6, 98; political situation during 85–6; religious views in 84, 92–8; sex and gender themes in 84, 90, 91, 93, 95, 97, 98, 117; visual and performing arts in 84–106, 111, 115, 117

Ruth St. Denis: Pioneer and Prophet (Shawn) 76, 115

Sacco, Yada 73

St. Denis, Maurice 86

St. Denis, Ruth: biography of 75–6; Fortuny's interaction with 71, 72, 75, 77, 79, 115; *The Incense* dance of 112, 118–19; Knossos scarves modeled by 71, 75, 77–9, 115; Minoan-Oriental woman images with 71, 74, 77–9; Oriental dances of 75–7, 112–13, 117; *Radha* dance of 71, 76–9, 112–13; *Ruth St. Denis: Pioneer and Prophet* on 76, 115; Shawn as spouse and partner of 76, 111, 112–13, 114, 117, 118–19

Salome 74

Salome (Strauss) 74

Salome (Wilde) 74

Salome Dancing Before Herod (Moreau) 74

Satie, Erik 114

Savignoni, L. 73

Schmid, Martin 49

Schmidt & Co. 133, 134, 137, 139, 140

Seager, Richard 41, 85

The Secret of the East: Egypt-Babylon (Merezhkovsky) 92

The Secret of the West: Atlantis-Europe (Merezhkovsky) 84, 92, 93, 94, 96–7

Sénégal ocean liner 128

Serov and I in Greece (Bakst) 87

Serov, Valentin 87, 91

sex and gender themes: *The Century of Labyrinths* exploring 183–4, 185; Cretomania exploring 4, 5, 197; *Gnossienne* dance presentation of 115–16; Knossos scarves' allusion to 71, 74–5, 77–9; Minoan Brotherhood neo-paganism foundation of 157–65; Russian Silver Age views of 84, 90, 91, 93, 95, 97, 98, 117; Shawn's exploration of 112, 113–14

Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (Mead) 161–2

Sfakianaki, Marielli 186n2; *Minos* 185

Sgouros, Odysseas 28, *29*, 31, 34, 36n13

Shanower, Eric: *Age of Bronze* cartoons 8

Shaw, Joseph 49

Shaw, Maria 48

Shawn, Edwin Myers 'Ted': biography of 111–12; *Gnossienne* dance of 111–19; male dancer challenges for 111, 112, 113, 116, 118–19; *Ruth St. Denis: Pioneer and Prophet* 76, 115; St. Denis as spouse and partner of 76, 111, 112–13, 114, 117, 118–19; sexual exploration of 112, 113–14

Shéhérazade 87

Sikelianos, Angelos 174

Simon, Jacques 138

Simon, Marc, workshop of 133, 134, 135–7, 139, 143

Société des Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée 124

Le Spectre de la Rose 87

Spyratou, Sophia 8

Stefani, Enrico 51

Strauss, Richard: *Salome* 74

Stürmer, Veit xxi, 8

Terror Antiquus (Bakst) 87, 88, 98, 103n13

theater and dance: Ballets Russes as 84, 87, 90–1, 92, 99, 100–1, 111, 115, 117; *ekstasis* (ecstasy) in 20; Fortuny's work in 72, 75; *Gnossienne* dance as 111–21; Knossos scarves in 71, 74–9, 90, 115; Russian Silver Age 84–5, 86–91, 92, 98–102, 111, 115, 117; theatricality of architecture 17, 18–20; tragic 18–20, 86; *see also specific performers and performances*

Théophile Gautier ocean liner 127, 148n22

Theotokopoulos, Domenikos *see* El Greco

Theseus and Ariadne in the Island of the Bulls (Paschalis) 8

tourism, Cretan 191–3

Treuil, René 51

Troy (Petersen) 42

Truchot 138, 140

Tsipopoulou, Metaxia 6, 10nn23–4

Uderzo, Albert: *Asterix and Obelix All at Sea (La Galère d'Obélix)* 8

Underwater Landscapes (Jean-Haffen) 139, 142

Utamaro, Kitagawa 73, 78

Valsamakis, Nikos 26

van Eyck, Aldo 32, 33, 36n19

Vardanyan, Albert: *Pulsar* 8

Varoudakis, Aristomenis *30*, 33

Varoudakis, Giorgos 30, 33, 36n11

Verhaeren, Emil: *Hélène de Sparte* 90, 99–100

visual and performing arts: in *Aramis* ocean liner 124–54; Art Nouveau 4, 39, 40–1, 48–9, 73; Arts and Crafts movement in 8; *Gnossienne* dance as 111–21; with Knossos scarves 71–81, 90, 115, 138; overview of 3–4, 197; in Russian Silver Age 84–106, 111, 115, 117; *see also specific works*

von Hofmannsthal, Hugo 72, 76–7, 78

Whistler, James 86

Wild Duck Hunt (Méheut) 143–4

Wilde, Oscar: *Salome* 74

Wright, Frank Lloyd 22

Xanthoudidis, Stefanos 41, 182

Zachos, Aristotelis 35n5

Zenetos, Takis 26, 28, *30*, 32, 34, 35, 37n21

Zervos, Christian: *Les Cahiers d'Art* 128

Zoumboulides, Nicolaos *29*, 30–1, 33, 34, 36n12, 43

Introduction

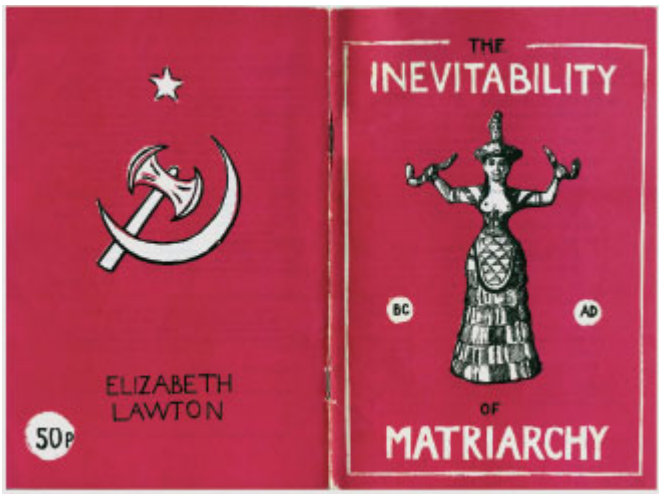


Figure I.1 Elisabeth Lawton's self-published book, *The Inevitability of Matriarchy* (1977), front and back covers

Source: N. Momigliano

Figure I.2 Albert Vardanyan, *Pulsar* (2006), in the grounds of the Berlin Art Hotel in Gyumri, Armenia

Source: N. Momigliano

Chapter 1: Preziosi

Figure 1.1 Frank Lloyd Wright, G.C. Stockman House (1908), Mason City, Iowa (licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution licence).

Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/pamelav/459367006)

Chapter 2: Philippides and Sgourous

Figure 2.1 Modern use of Minoan motifs, Crete

Source: Odysseas Sgouros photo archive

Figure 2.2 Nicolaos Zoumboulides, the architect's residence, Filothei suburb, Athens, 1934

Source: Dimitri Philippides

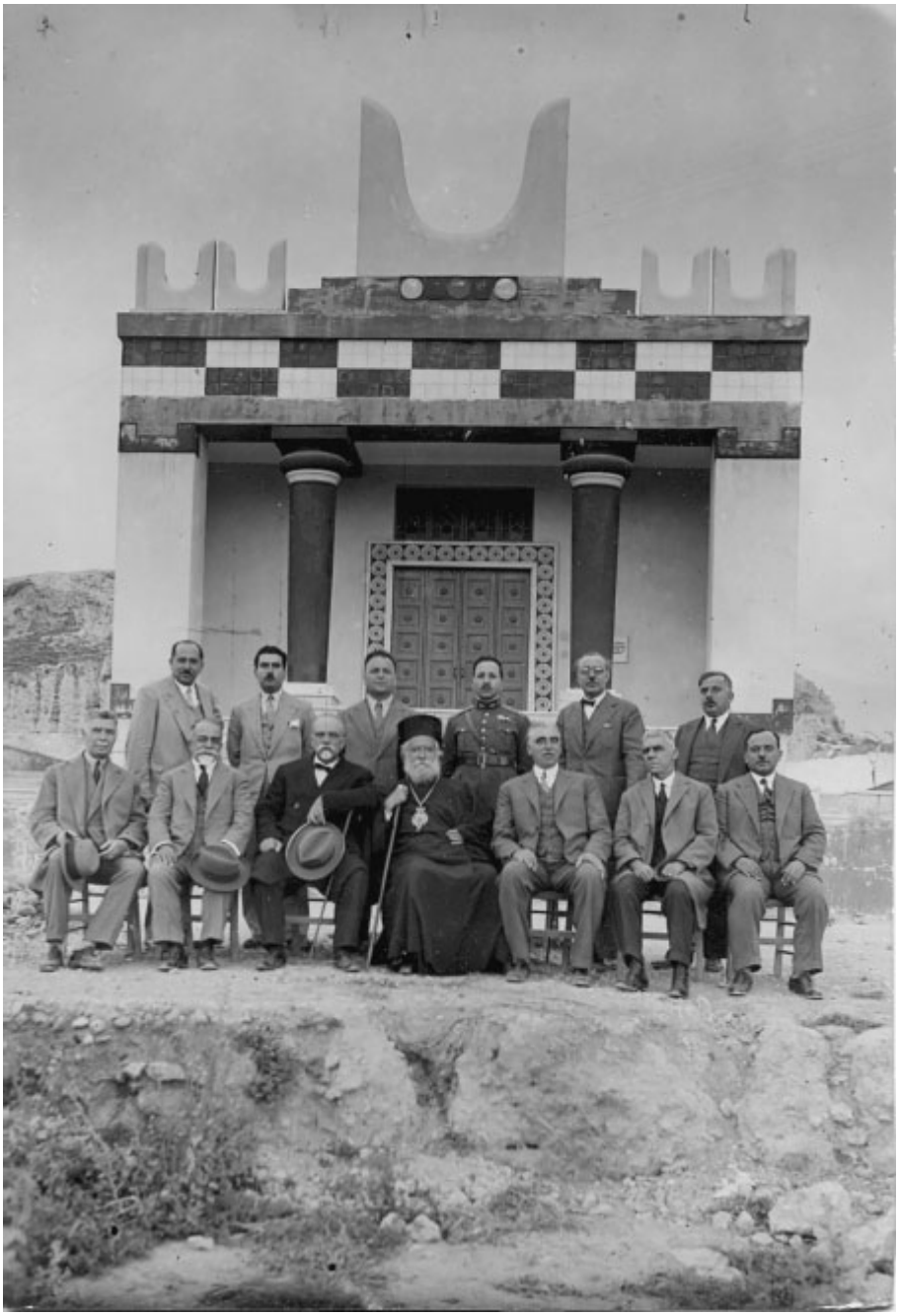


Figure 2.3 Dimitri Kyriakos, Heroon, Herakleion, 1930

Source: Odysseas Sgouros archive

Figure 2.4 Panos Koulermos, University of Crete units, Herakleion, comparison with Knossos

Source: A. Leaver, University of Bristol, based on illustration published in Architectural Monographs No. 35, 1994

Figure 2.5 Panos Koulermos, Research Centre of Crete, Herakleion, 1985–90

Source: Dimitri Philippides

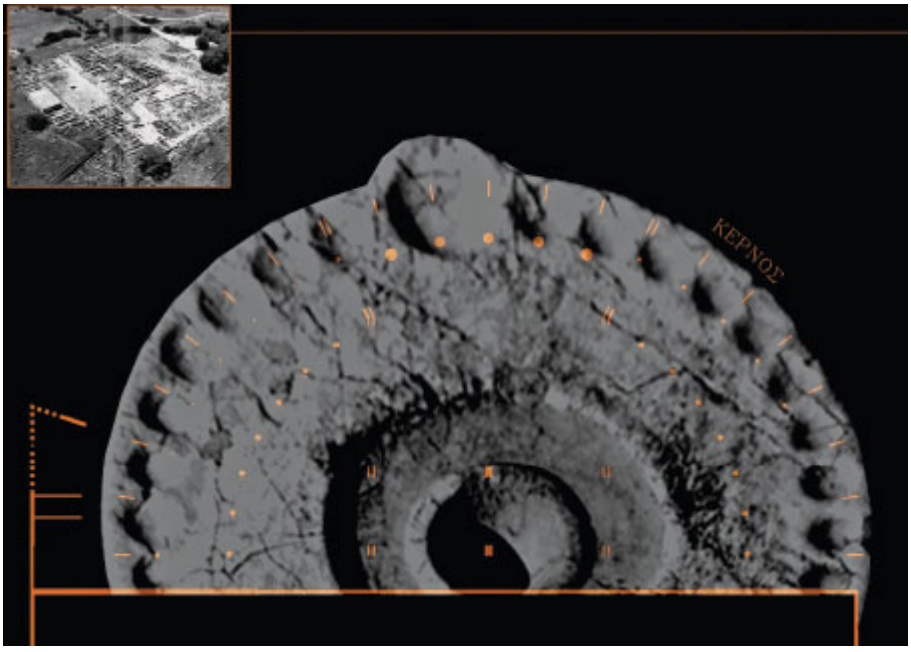


Figure 2.6 Odysseas Sgouros, municipal gym, Malia, Crete, outline based on the shape of a Minoan *kernos*, 2007

Source: courtesy of the architect, Odysseas Sgouros

Figure 2.7 Odysseas Sgouros, house project, Mochlos, Crete, elevation, 2011

Source: courtesy of the architect, Odysseas Sgouros

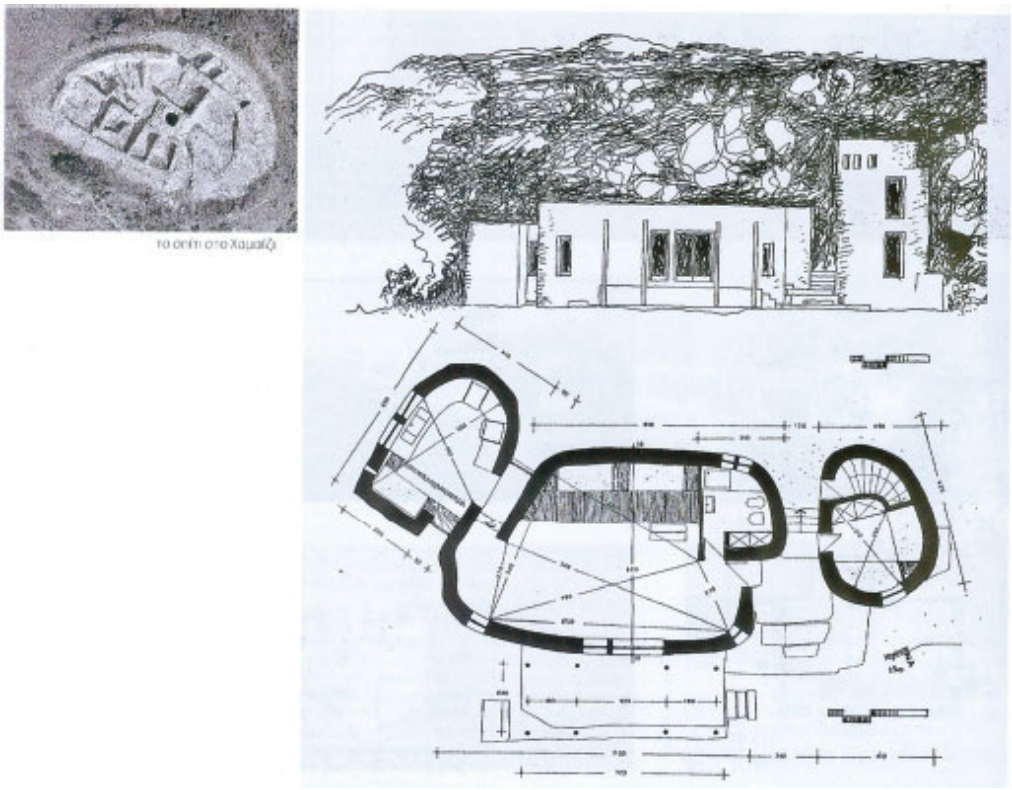


Figure 2.8 Dimitri Fatouros, Peristera 2 project, Chalkidiki with house at Chamezi insert, 1971–72

Source: Papadopoulos & Tsitiridou 2009

Figure 2.9 Dimitri Fatouros, house in the Markopoulo area, Attica, detail, 1991–95

Source: Dimitri Philippides

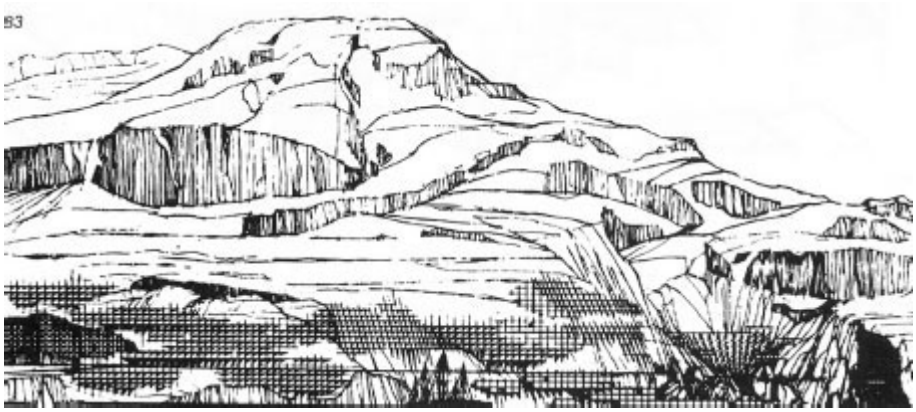


Figure 2.10 Takis Zenetos, tourist development project at Plakias, Crete, 1966

Source: Doumanis 1978

Figure 2.11 Takis Zenetos, tourist development project at Agia Galini, Crete, 1966

Source: Doumanis 1978

Figure 2.12 A66 Team, Lyttos Hotel, Anissaras, Crete, detail, 1974–76

Source: Frampton 1985

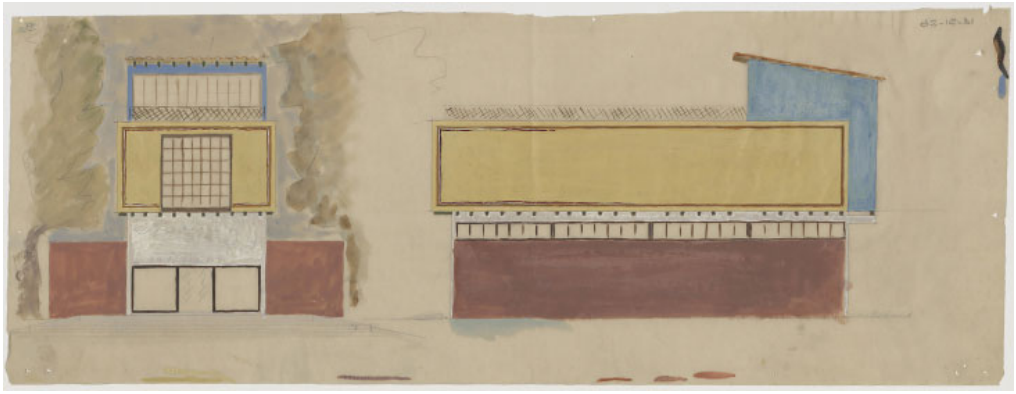


Figure 2.13 Nikos Mitsakis, Greek pavilion competition entry, Paris Exhibition, 1937

Source: Panousakis 1992

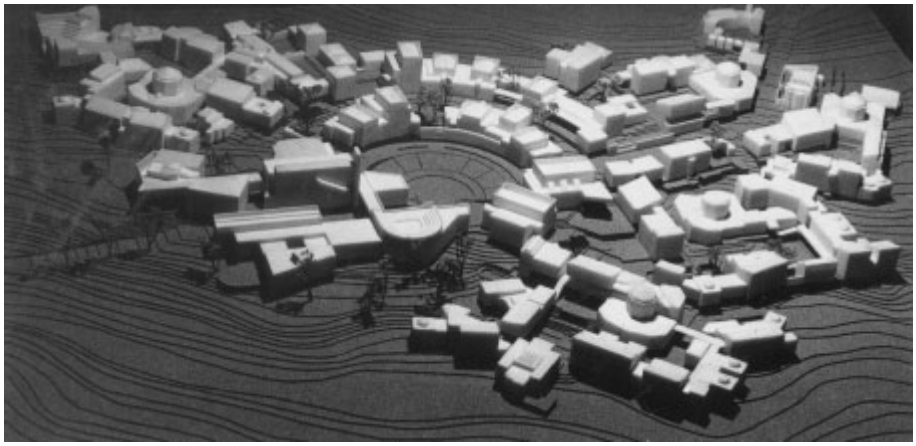


Figure 2.14 A66 Team, university campus at Rethymnon, Crete, 1981

Source: Tournikiotis 2007

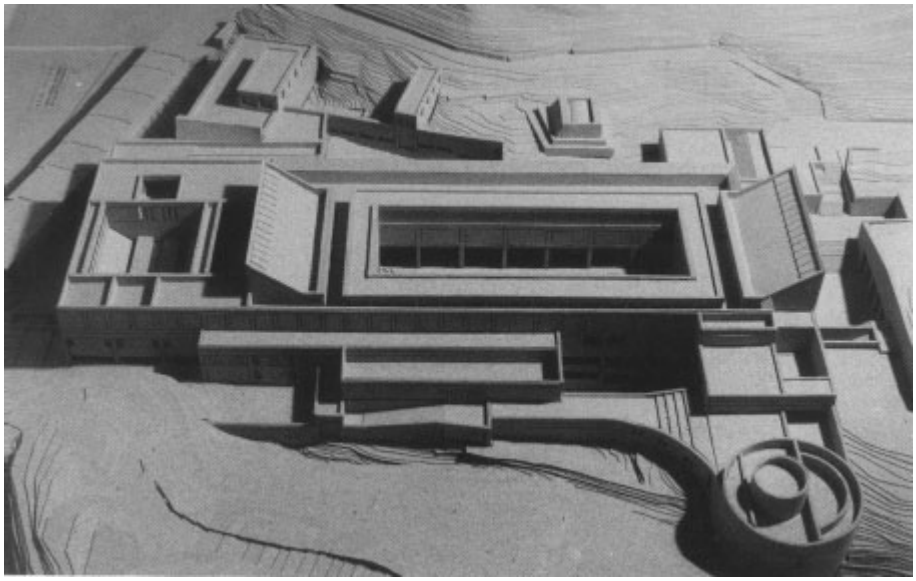


Figure 2.15 A66 Team, New Acropolis Museum competition entry, Athens, 1991

Source: Tournikiotis 2007

Figure 2.16 Aristomenis and Giorgos Varoudakis, house, Agios Matthaios area, Chania, Crete, 2007-

Source: Dimitri Philippides

Chapter 3: Blakolmer

Figure 3.1 Villa Primavesi by Josef Hoffmann, Vienna, 1914

Image in the public domain; source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Josef_Hoffmann,_1913–1915,_A1130_Wien,_Gloriettegasse_14–16,_Villa_Primavesi,_p1.jpg

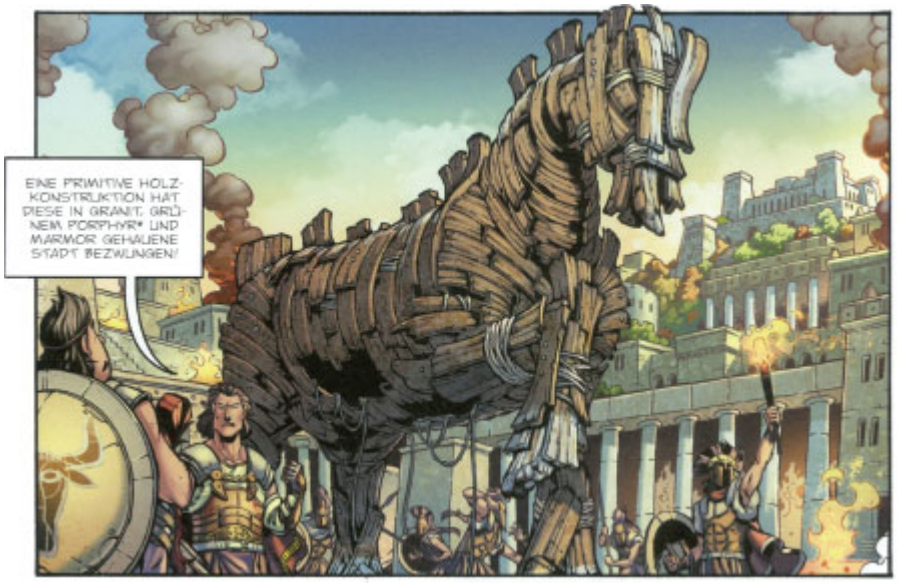


Figure 3.2 The Trojan Horse in the comic series *Questor*. Drawing by Nicola Saviori and Matteo Bassini; scenario by Jean-Luc Sala, 2011

Source: reproduced with kind permission of the artists

Figure 3.3 Vase inspired by the Marine style, by Charles Catteau, 1931

Source: N. Momigliano

Figure 3.4 ‘North Entrance Passage’ in the palace at Knossos

Source: after Evans 1935, p. 14, fig. 6

Figure 3.5 ‘South Propylaeum’ in the palace at Knossos

Source: after Evans 1928, p. 709, fig. 444

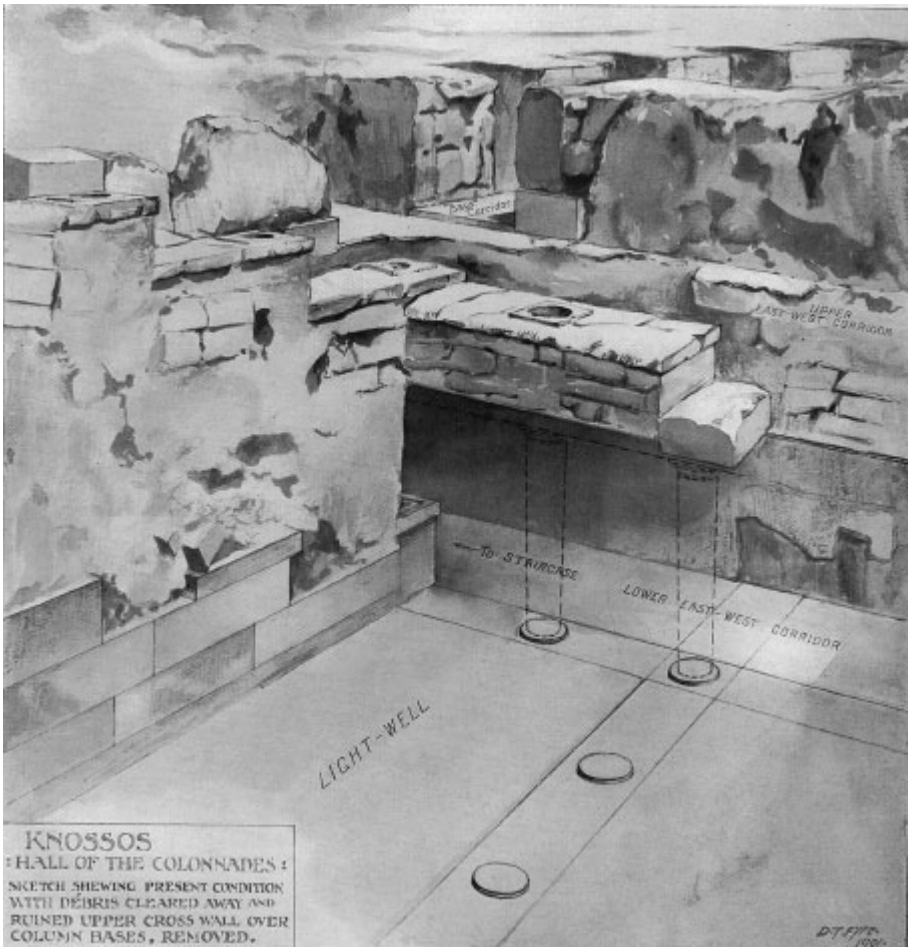


Figure 3.6 ‘Hall of the Colonnades’ in the palace at Knossos, drawing by Th. Fyfe

Source: after Evans 1921, suppl. pl. V

Figure 3.7 North façade of Xeste 2, Akrotiri, Thera

Source: after Marinatos 1974, pl. 17

Figure 3.8 Reconstruction drawing of the 'Queens's Megaron' in the palace at Knossos

Source: after Evans 1930, pl. XXVI, frontispiece

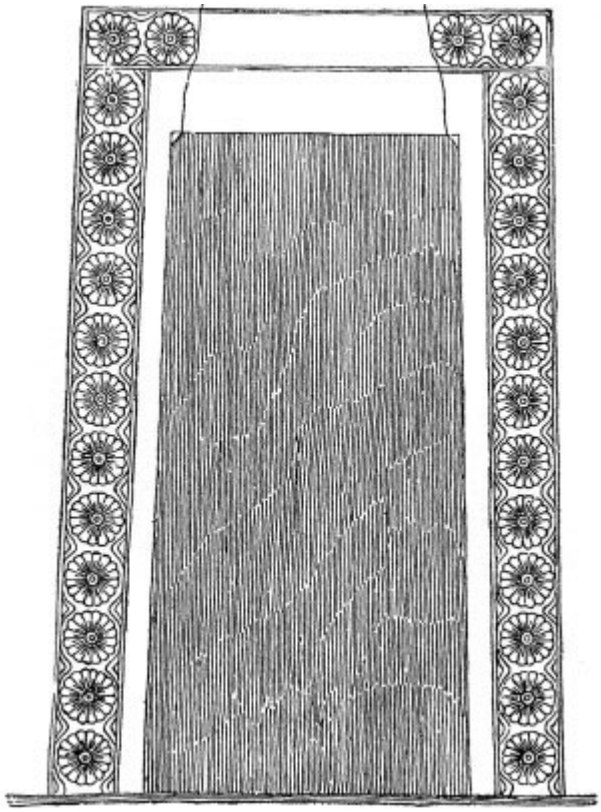


Figure 3.9 Stomion of 'Tsountas tomb 53' at Mycenae

Source: after Tsountas & Manatt 1897, p. 61, fig. 16

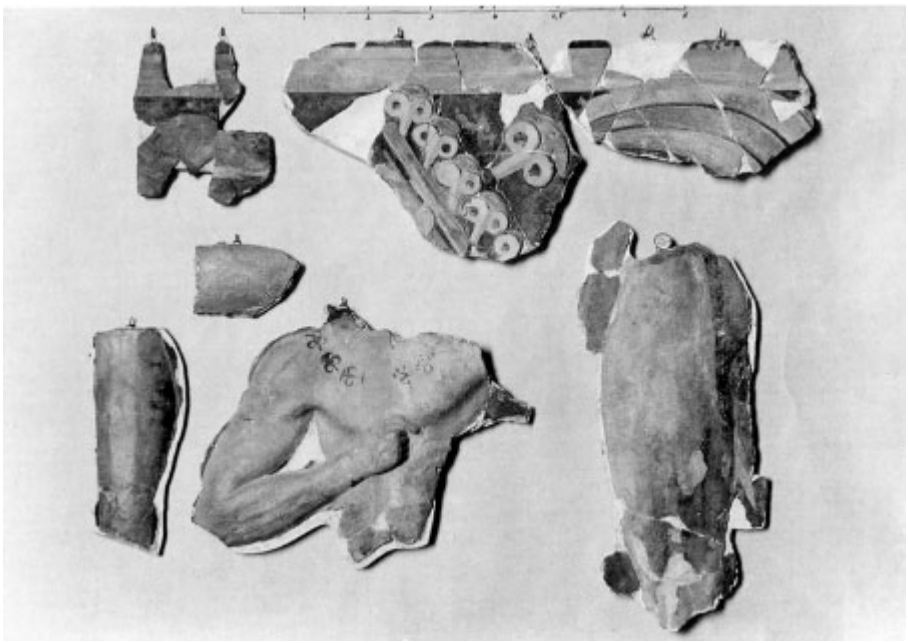


Figure 3.10 Plaster casts of stucco relief fragments of the 'Lily Prince' from Knossos

Source: after Stürmer 2004, pl. XII, fig. 11

Figure 3.11 ‘Throne-room complex’ in the palace at Knossos

Source: after Evans 1935, p. 924, fig. 897

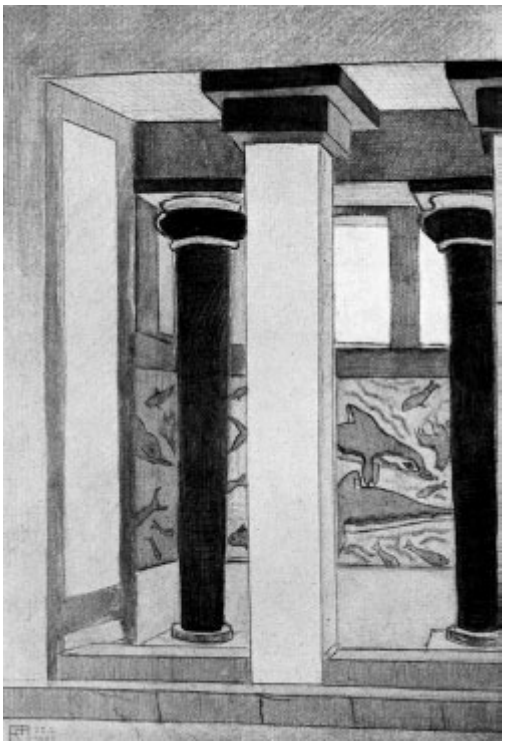


Figure 3.12 ‘Queen’s Megaron’ in the palace at Knossos, reconstruction drawing by Camillo Praschniker, 1921

Source: after Praschniker 1921, pl. 8

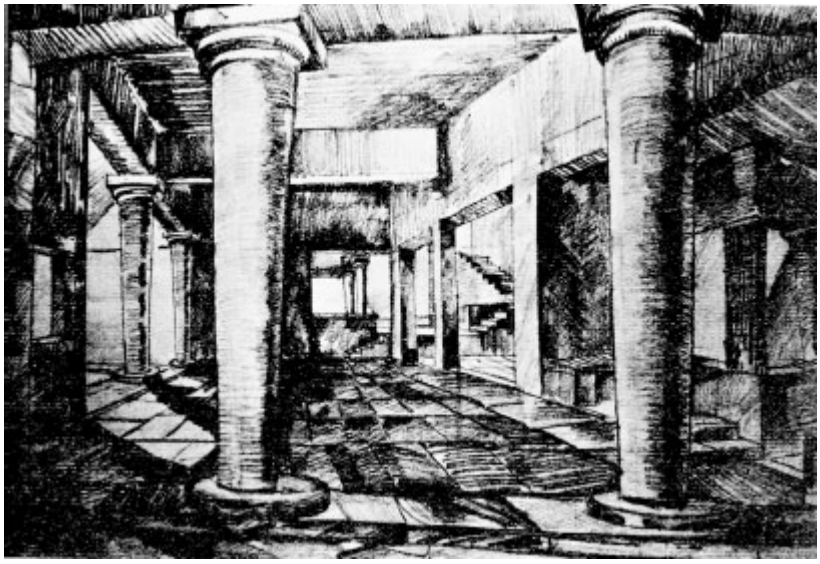


Figure 3.13 Northern area of the palace at Phaistos, reconstruction drawing by Fausto Franco, 1932

Source: after Italian Archaeological School of Athens 1985, p. 82, fig. 101; courtesy of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

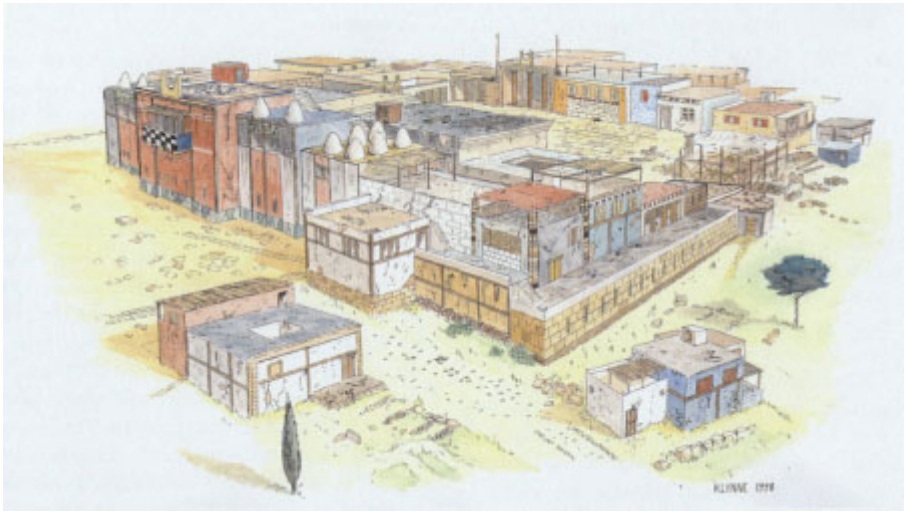


Figure 3.14 Reconstruction of the palace at Knossos

Source: after Allan Klynne, 1998; reproduced by kind permission of A. Klynne

Chapter 4: Caloi

Figure 4.1 The 1906 premiere of the Fortuny Knossos scarves, at the private theatre of the Comtesse Martine de Béarn, Paris

Source: courtesy of Museo Fortuny, Venice

Figure 4.2 Exhibition of the Fortuny Knossos scarves at the Fortuny Museum

Source: courtesy of Museo Fortuny, Venice

Chapter 5: Momigliano

A

A detail

B

Figure 5.1A–5.1A detail. L. Bakst, *Terror Antiquus* (1908) (Appendix no. 1)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Terror_Antiquus_by_L.Bakst_%281908%29.jpg

Figure 5.1B L. Bakst, Knossos Town Mosaic faience plaques, from 1907 sketchbook (New York Public Library)

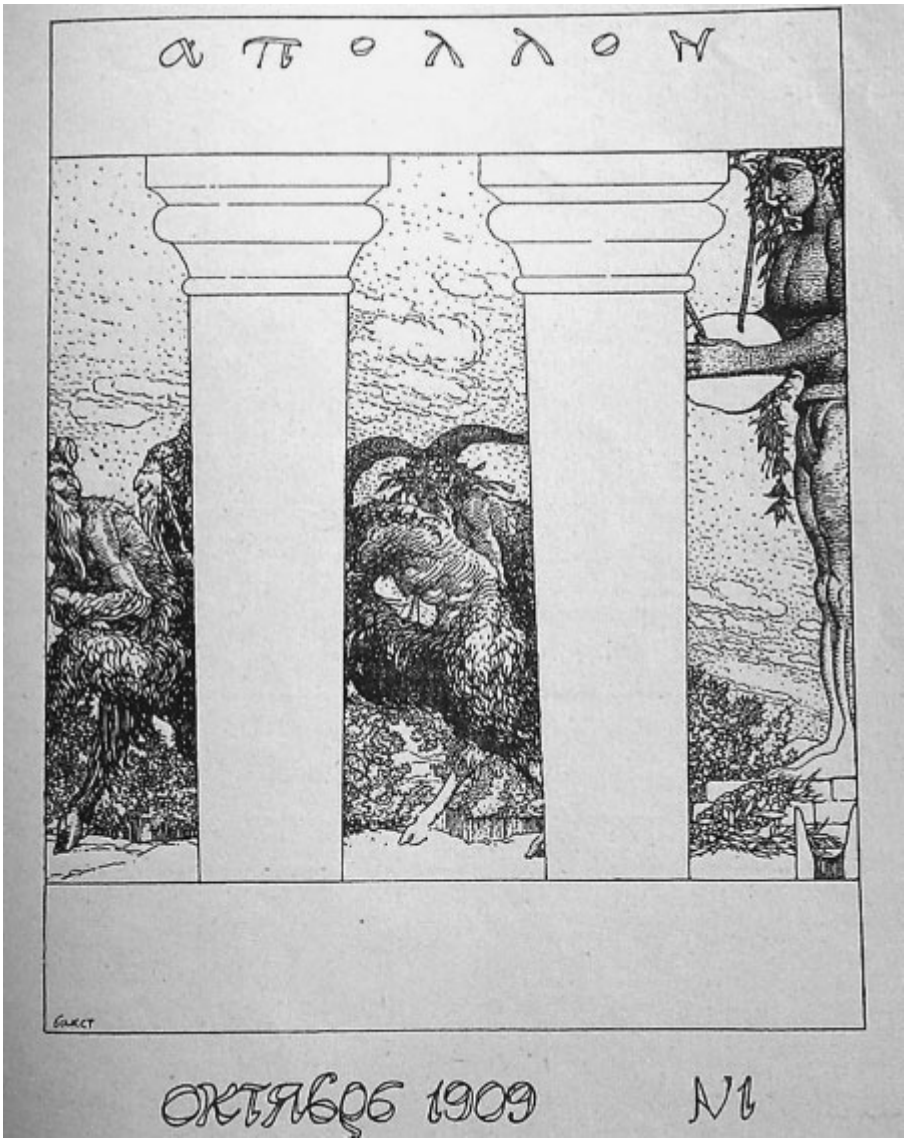


Figure 5.2 L. Bakst, illustration for magazine *Apollon*, 1909 (Appendix no. 2)

Source: N. Momigliano

A

Figure 5.3A L. Bakst, *Narcisse* (1911), costume design for Baccant (Appendix no. 3)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bakst_Narcisse_Bacchante.jpg

B

C

D

Figure 5.3B–D Knossian fresco and vases decorated with lilies and braided foliage

Source: after Evans 1921–35, vol. 1, colour plate VI opposite p. 537; p. 603, fig. 443; and p. 499, fig. 357, respectively

A

B

C

D

Figure 5.4A L. Bakst, *Narcisse* (1911), costume design for one nymph (Appendix no. 4)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Narcisse_ballet_by_L._Bakst_01.jpg

Figure 5.4B Detail of postcard showing costume from *Narcisse*, exhibited in *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballets Russes*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (V&A S.610(&A)-1980).

Source: N. Momigliano

Figure 5.4C Knossos Town Mosaic plaque

Source: after Evans 1921–35, vol. 1, p. 309, fig. 228: f

Figure 5.4D Ayia Triada, 'Cat Stalking a Pheasant' fresco

Source: after Evans 1921–35, vol. 1, p. 538, fig. 391

Figure 5.5 L. Bakst, *Narcisse* (1911), costume design for Echo (Appendix no. 5)

Image in the public domain; source: http://www.wikipaintings.org/en/leon-bakst/narcisse-nymph-echo-1911-1

Figure 5.6 L. Bakst, set design for *Hélène de Sparte* (1912)

Image in the public domain; source: http://www.wikipaintings.org/en/leon-bakst/helene-de-sparte-act-ii-set-design-1912

A

B C D

Figure 5.7A L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume design for the character of Menelaus (Appendix no. 7)

Image in the public domain; source: http://russianartsalon.com/images/Artist-Images-Orig/BAKST-Menelaus.jpg; courtesy of Prof. Boris Stavroski

Figure 5.7B–D Late Minoan pottery

Source: after Evans 1921–1935, vol. 4, part 1, p. 282, fig. 216; after Dawkins & Currelly 1904, p. 206, fig. 4; and after Bosanquet *et al.* 1903, p. 211, fig. 9

Figure 5.8 L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume design for male character (Appendix no. 8)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Helene_de_Sparte_ballet_by_L._Bakst_08.jpg

Figure 5.9 L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume design for Pollux (Appendix no. 9)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Helene_de_Sparte_ballet_by_L._Bakst_04.jpeg

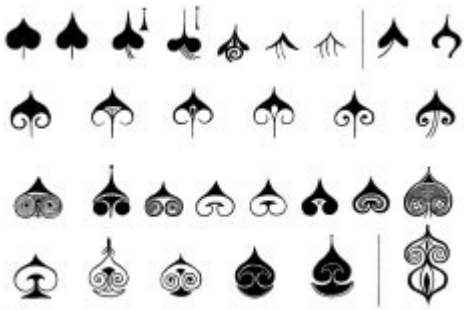
A

Figure 5.10A L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume for Ida Rubinstein as Helen (Appendix no. 10)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Helene_de_Sparte_ballet_by_L._Bakst_03.jpg

B

C



D

E

Figure 5.10B L. Bakst, 1907 New York sketchbook (New York

Public Library), motif possibly copied from the jug shown in Figure 5.10C

Figure 5.10C Minoan or Minoanising jug from Phylakopi on Melos

Source: after Edgar 1904, p. 131, fig. 101

Figure 5.10D Minoan-Mycenaean sacral-ivy motifs

Source: after Furumark 1941

Figure 5.10E Crocus-motif on faience robes from the Knossos Temple Repositories

A

B

Figure 5.11A L. Bakst, *Hélène de Sparte* (1912), costume design for Electra (Appendix no. 11) (Art Institute Chicago: Sidney A. Kent Fund, 1920.252)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Electra,_for_Helen_of_Sparta_by_L.Bakst.jpg

Figure 5.11B Ceramic vase from Knossos

Source: first published in Evans 1903, p. 120, fig. 75, and republished in Evans 1921–1935, vol. 1, fig. 186a and colour plate III

A

B

Figure 5.12A L. Bakst, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1912), costume design for nymph (Appendix no. 12)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:L%27apr%C3%A8s-midi_d%27un_faune_by_L.Bakst_02.jpg

Figure 5.12B Minoan pottery decorated with spirals and wavy lines from Palaikastro (Appendix no. 12)

Source: after Bosanquet *et al.*, 1903, p. 313, fig. 11

A

Figure 5.13A L. Bakst, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1912), costume design for nymph (Appendix no. 13) (New York Public Library)

Source: image also available from: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:L%27apr%C3%A8s-midi_d%27un_faune_by_L.Bakst_04.jpg

Figure 5.13B–C Examples of Minoan pottery with comparable spiraliform motifs

Source: after Bosanquet Robert Carr *et al.*, 1903, p. 305, fig. 4.2; republished in Evans 1921–35, vol. 1, p. 185, fig. 134b; Evans 1921–35, vol. 2, p. 241, fig. 121a

Figure 5.14 L. Bakst, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1912), Vaslav Nijinsky as the Faune (Appendix no. 14)

Image in the public domain; source: http://www.wikipaintings.org/en/leon-bakst/nijinsky-s-faun-costume-in-l-apres-midi-d-un-faune-from-the-front-cover-of-the-programme-for-1912-1#supersized-artistPaintings-188164

A

B

Figure 5.15A Nymphs and Nijinsky in *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (Appendix no. 15)

Source: Edward Gooch, courtesy of Getty Images, Hulton Archive

Figure 5.15B Knossos, detail of *Sacred Grove* fresco

Source: after Evans 1921–35, vol. 3, p. 66, colour plate XVIII

Figure 5.16 L. Bakst, *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912), costume design for Darkon (Appendix no. 16)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Daphnis_and_Chloe_by_L._Bakst_09.jpg

Figure 5.17 L. Bakst, *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912), costume design for a shepherd (Appendix no. 17) (New York Public Library)

Figure 5.18 L. Bakst, *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912), costume design for a young brigand (Appendix no. 18)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Daphnis_and_Chloe_by_L._Bakst_03.jpg

Figure 5.19 L. Bakst, set design for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 21). Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra National de Paris/Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 5.20 L. Bakst, set design for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 22)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phaedra_%28Bakst%29_01.jpg

Figure 5.21 L. Bakst, set design for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 25)

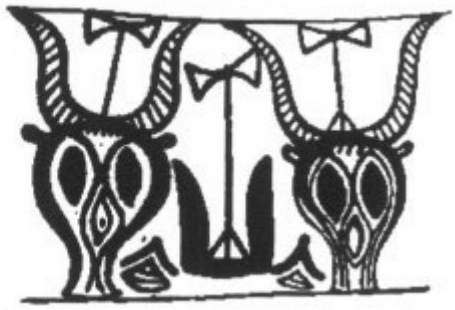
Image in the public domain; source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phaedra_%28Bakst%29_07.jpg

Figure 5.22 L. Bakst, set design for Ida Rubinstein's 1923 production of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 26)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phaedra_(Bakst)_12.jpg

A

B



C

Figure 5.23A L. Bakst, costume design for Ida Rubinstein in the title role of *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 28)

Source: photo courtesy of Museum of Modern Art Mastery

Figure 5.23B–C Minoan motif from Bakst's Cretan sketchbook (5.23B, in the New York Public Library), which was copied from the drawing (5.23C) after Evans 1901, p. 107, fig. 3 (Appendix no. 28)

A

B

Figure 5.24A L. Bakst, costume design for female character in *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 29) (after Spencer 2009, p. 166)

Source: courtesy of the estate of Charles Spencer

Figure 5.24B Reconstructed fresco from Tiryns (Appendix no. 29) (after Rodenwaldt 1912, pl. VIII)

Image in the public domain; source: http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/; also available from: http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/258121

Figure 5.25 L. Bakst, costume for female character in *Phèdre* (Appendix no. 30) (see Spencer 2009, p. 171)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phaedra_%28Bakst%29_09.jpg

Figure 5.26 L. Bakst, *Phèdre* (1923), costume design for male character (Appendix no. 32)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phaedra_%28Bakst%29_11.jpg

Figure 5.27 L. Bakst, *Phèdre* (1923), costume design for female character (Appendix no. 33)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phaedra_%28Bakst%29_10.jpg

Figure 5.28 L. Bakst, *Phèdre* (1923), costume designs for old woman and Theseus (Appendix no. 34)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bakst-PhedreThesee.jpg

Figure 5.29 L. Bakst, *Phèdre* (1923), costume design for male character (Appendix no. 35)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phaedra_%28Bakst%29_03.jpg

A

Figure 5.30A L. Bakst, *Phèdre* design for set props (Appendix no. 36) (after Spencer 2009, p. 93)

Source: courtesy of the estate of Charles Spencer

Figure 5.30B Detail of the Ayia Triada sarcophagus

Source: after Evans 1921–35, vol. 1, fig. 317

Figure 5.31 L. Bakst, modern garments designed for Paquin (Appendix no. 37)

Image in the public domain; source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robes_style_Bakst_realisees_par_Paquin.jpg

Chapter 6: Morris

Figure 6.1 Ted Shawn in *Gnossienne*, old postcard in the possession of the author

Source: author

Figure 6.2 Ruth St. Denis in *The Incense*

Source: George Grantham Bain Collection; Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, reproduction number LC-DIG-ggbain-05890

Figure 6.3 Ted Shawn and Ruth St. Denis in *Egyptian Ballet*

Source: Denishawn Collection, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Lennox and Tilden Foundations

Figure 6.4 'The Cupbearer', Knossos

Source: author

Figure 6.5 Ted Shawn in *Gnossienne*, wearing a slightly different version of the costume

Source: Denishawn Collection, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Lennox and Tilden Foundations

Figure 6.6 Ted Shawn's costume for *Gnossienne*

Source: courtesy of Florida State University Killinger Collection: Costumes of Denishawn and Ted Shawn and his Male Dancers; photograph by Jon Nalon

Chapter 7: Boucher

Figure 7.1 The ocean liner *Aramis* (MM 1932–1942) on the Saigon River. Indochina Air Force – 2nd Squadron, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 003 0044 (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.2 The first-class music room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.3 The Horns of Consecration' and 'The White Column' shown in a drawing by Mathurin Méheut, 1932, letter from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. LM 625 (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne, © ADAGP)

Figure 7.4 The grand staircase of the first-class dining room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (2) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.5 The first-class dining room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.6 The first-class lobby, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.7 The first-class music room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.8 The silk damask which covered the chairs in the ñrst-class music room, Truchot silk manufacturers, Prelle archives, Truchot archives, pattern book, pattern JT 6336 (© Prelle)

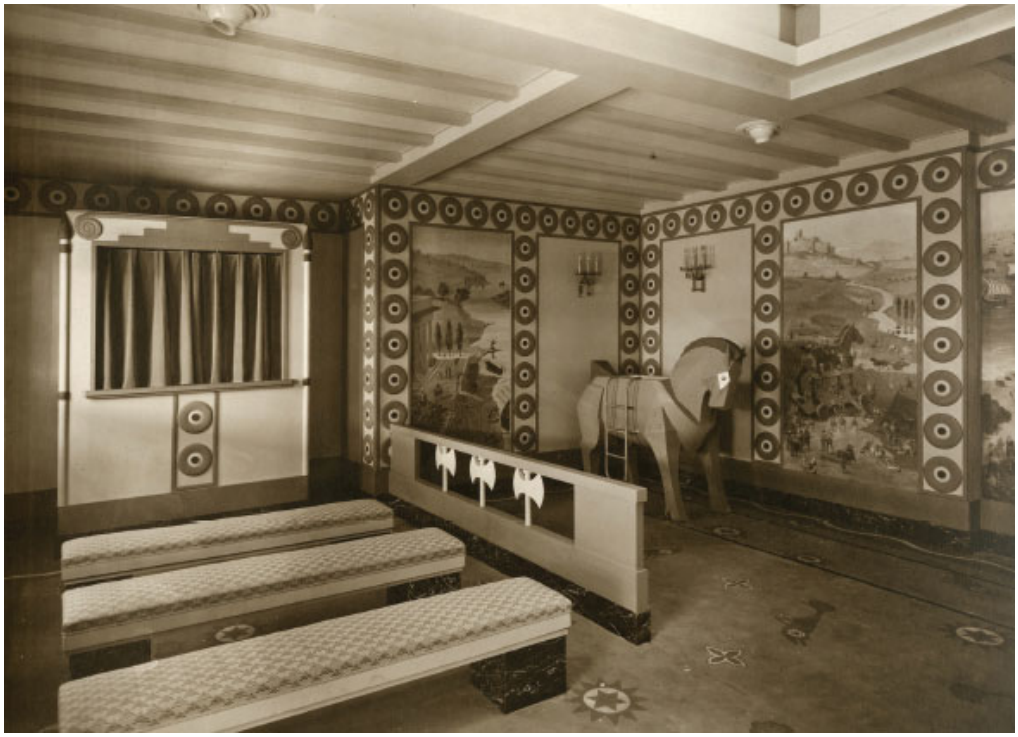


Figure 7.9 The first-class children's playroom, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (2) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.10 The first-class swimming pool on board the ocean liner *Aramis*, black and white photograph, French

Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (1) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.11 The second-class dining room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (2) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

Figure 7.12 The second-class music room, black and white photograph, French Lines Archives, no. 1999 001 008 (2) (© Collection French Lines. DR)

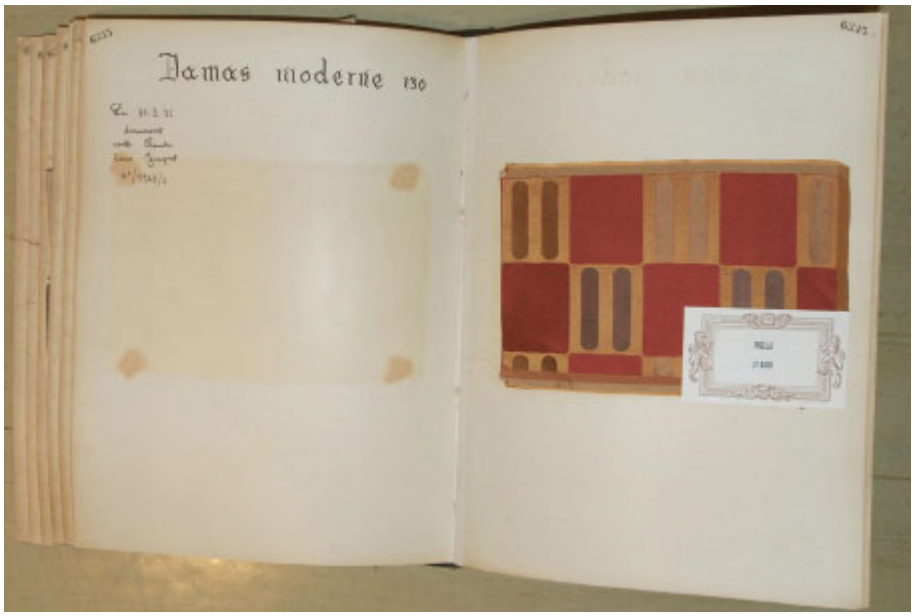


Figure 7.13 The silk damask which covered the chairs in the second-class music room, Truchot silk manufacturers, Prelle archives, Truchot archives, pattern book, pattern JT 6335 (© Prelle)

Figure 7.14 Yvonne Jean-Haffen sketching *The Prince of the*

Lilies at the Candia Museum, drawing by Mathurin Méheut, 1932, letter from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. LM 623 (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, © ADAGP)

Figure 7.15 *The Prince of the Lilies*, Yvonne Jean-Haffen, fresco on coated wood, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-

Vigne-Dinan, inv. HC. 74 (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan)

Figure 7.16 Sketch for frieze on the *Aramis* 1, Yvonne Jean-Haffen, watercolour on paper, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, MA. 2 (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan)

Figure 7.17 Sketch for frieze on the *Aramis* 2, Yvonne Jean-Haffen, watercolour on paper, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, MA. 3 (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan)

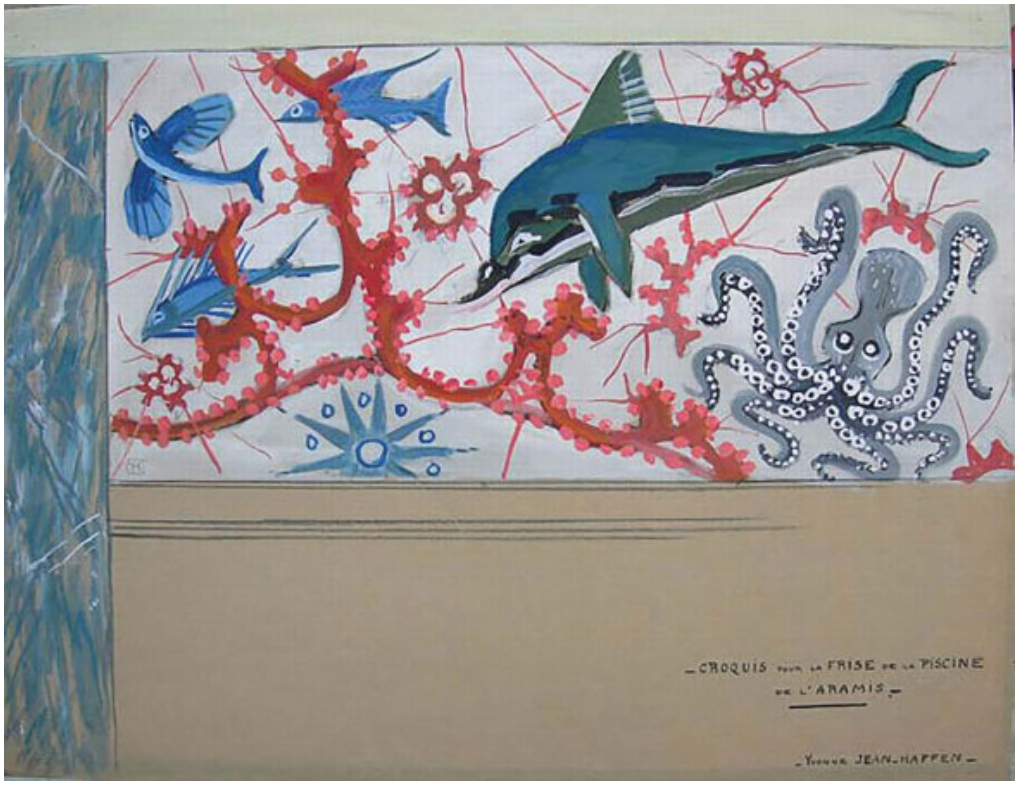


Figure 7.18 Sketch for frieze on the *Aramis* 3, Yvonne Jean-Haffen, watercolour on paper, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, MA. 4 (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan)

Figure 7.19 Yvonne Jean-Haffen working on the frieze

Undercolour Landscapes for the swimming pool of the *Aramis*, drawing by Mathurin Méheut, 1932, letter from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, Dinan, inv. LM 16 B (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, © ADAGP)

Figure 7.20 Design for the swimming pool of the *Aramis*, Yvonne Jean-Haffen, watercolour on paper, 1932, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. MA. 681 (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan)

Figure 7.21 *The Hunt* fresco in Méheut's studio in Paris, drawing by Mathurin Méheut, 1932, letter from Mathurin Méheut to Yvonne Jean-Haffen, coll. Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, inv. LM 11 B (© Musée Yvonne Jean-Haffen-Maison d'Artiste de La Grande-Vigne-Dinan, © ADAGP)

Figure 7.22 Reproduction of *Wild Duck Hunt* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photograph, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe (© Musée Mathurin Méheut)

Figure 7.23 Reproduction of *Flying Fish* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photograph, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe (© Musée Mathurin Méheut)

Figure 7.24A–C Reproduction of *The Hunt* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe (© Musée Mathurin Méheut)

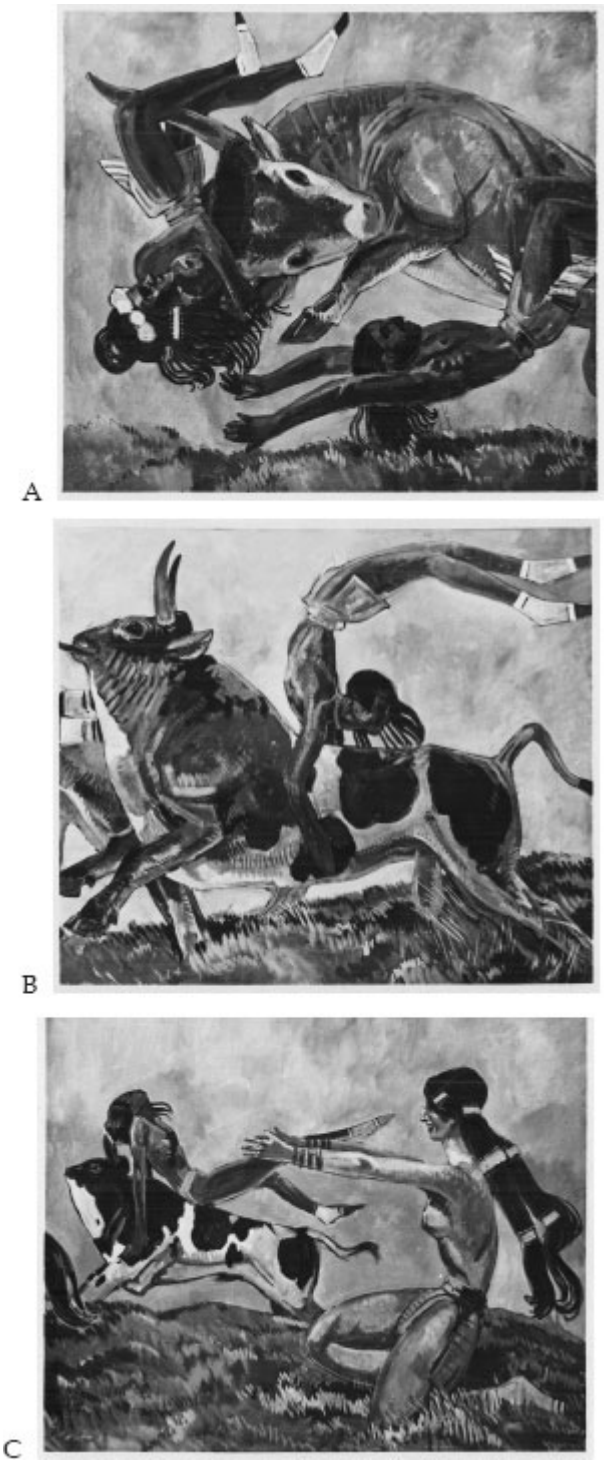


Figure 7.25A–C Reproduction of *The Bull Fighters* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe (© Musée Mathurin Méheut)

A

B

Figure 7.26A–B Reproduction of *The Olive Harvest* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe (© Musée Mathurin Méheut)

A

B

Figure 7.27A–B Reproduction of *Cretan Women* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe (© Musée Mathurin Méheut)

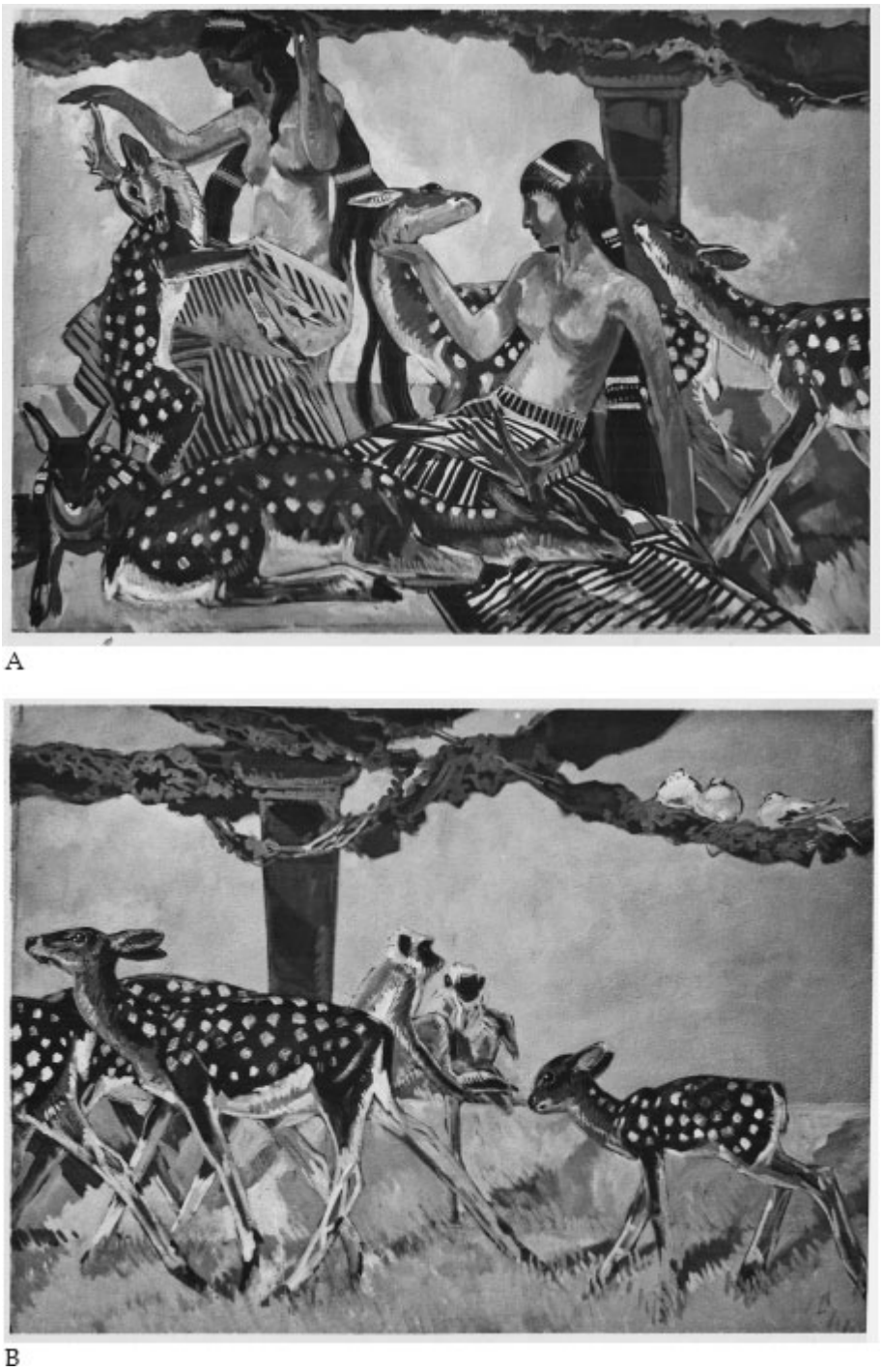


Figure 7.28A–B Reproduction of *The Deer Dancers* by Mathurin Méheut, black and white photographs, coll. Musée Mathurin Méheut, Lamballe (© Musée Mathurin Méheut)

Chapter 8: Burns

Figure 8.1 ‘Boy-God Adoring Goddess’

Source: Evans 1930, fig. 318

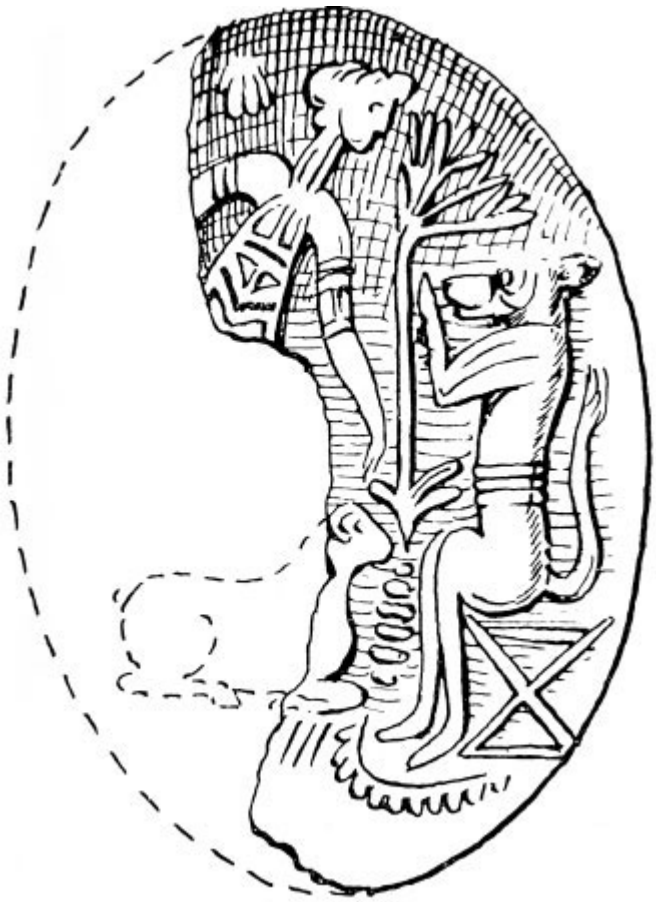


Figure 8.2 The ‘Young Minotaur’

Source: Evans 1928, fig. 491